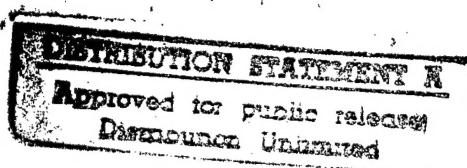


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19 October 1983



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2218

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19 October 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EVANGELICAL SYNOD STAND ON PEACE, CURRENT ISSUES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 27 Sep 83 p 14

[Article signed D/R/S: "'Today Things Depend Upon Recognizing Your Partner in Your Opponent'"]

[Text] At its fourth synod held in Potsdam last week, the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR came out in favor of a nuclear freeze and negotiations between the two German governments on military security issues. In a report to the synod, the church leaderships proposed some new ideas on military deterrence and called for peace education programs, for the acceptance of the principle of mutual security and an end to friend-foe thinking. The following are excerpts from this report, from an address by the Land bishop of Saxony Johannes Hempel and from a synod statement on the report by the church leaderships.

In its report, the conference of the Protestant church leaders has once more devoted a great deal of attention to the church position on the question of peace. The synod deems this decision appropriate at this time, since it reflects a readiness to deal with the worries and efforts of the congregations. Numerous petitions by individuals and groups on the question of peace are an indication of the fact that much is expected of the synod. The synod is aware of the fact that it cannot satisfy these expectations in full. On the other hand, it believes it is necessary not to limit the debate on further steps to the top church leadership but that the congregations themselves be given an opportunity to participate.

The ecumenic debate has shown that the churches need to increase their efforts aimed at "finding a common witness in a divided world; to stand up with renewed strength against the threats to peace and for survival, for justice and human dignity." (6th General Assembly of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Vancouver, Canada: statement of peace and justice No 24)

We are herewith heeding the call of the 6th General Assembly of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in stating "that the production, deployment and use of nuclear weapons are a crime against mankind and must therefore be condemned from an ethical and theological point of view."

This judgment is directed against a system of thought and behavior of which we are all a part and of which we are guilty along with everyone else. Our faith in the Gospel and our Christian sense of obedience force us to make a fresh start and to dedicate ourselves to life.

In this conference of the Protestant church leaders we take up the call of the 1982 Halle synod to say no to the spirit and the logic of deterrence.

We say no because of our obedience to Christ. We are not sure as yet as to what consequences this step will have for us. But we do intend to give serious thought to it. We can already see now, however, that we will have to begin by taking note of how slight our capacity for peace is. The important thing will be that our eyes are opened to the need and the capacity for peace of others. We are hopeful that this can result in personal undertakings that change our lives.

We are hopeful that our saying no will create freedom of movement for a policy which leads us out of the constrictions of the deterrence system step by step and that makes a mutual security system between East and West and North and South possible on the basis of justice.

We are discerning opportunities today to transform this concept of mutual security into workable, politically realizable measures such as

- an agreement which calls for a freeze on testing, producing and deploying nuclear weapons and their delivery systems at current levels (nuclear freeze);
- an acceptance of the world disarmament campaign initiated by the United Nations and its implementation in our country, too;
- a petition calling on our government to take part in working out an instrument of international law "which condemns both possession and use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity" (No 25 in the Vancouver declaration on peace and justice);
- a petition calling on our government to work within the Warsaw Pact for the non-deployment of short-range nuclear missiles on the soil of the GDR--neither during the course of the current Geneva negotiations, nor at a later date;
- a petition calling on our government to apply all of the provisions of the final act of the Madrid CSCE followup conference (of September 1983) and thereby to promote confidence and cooperation aiming at mutual security.

--a petition calling on our government to permit more travel between the two German states than heretofore within the context of existing treaties because personal contact helps reduce mutual fears and promotes peace.

Mutual security tends to gain when efforts for peace between the different nations are augmented by mutual contacts within one's own country that promote peace. This calls for a further reduction of the bureaucratic and harsh treatment of individual citizens; for a willingness to give reasons for negative decisions and for a wide-ranging flow of information which encourages people to cooperate in a responsible manner.

As a church, we cannot ask anyone to make such efforts unless we ourselves behave in a way that inspires partnership and mutual trust.

Both German states may be expected to have a special interest in talks about concrete measures to attain a security partnership because they are situated in the very center of the existing system of nuclear deterrence.

We call on the governments of the two German states to initiate consultations on military security within the context of mutual security as prescribed by article 5 of the basic treaty.

Whatever we can do as a church to help realize the security partnership we will do to the best of our ability.

Our saying no to deterrence must become apparent from the way we think and behave. The following are some of the directions we might take to effect a change of heart.

Education and historical experience have impressed the principles of self-interest and retribution upon us very deeply. But since it has become imperative for survival to look for security not at each other's expense but in concert with each other, everything now depends on recognizing one's partner in one's enemy or opponent. For this reason, the concept of mutual security must be given a place in peace education. Among other things, this calls for:

- making the concept of mutual security a topic in our discussions on peace in the congregations;
- fostering an understanding for political developments and for what can be achieved politically at this time;
- speaking out for and drilling non-violent solutions of conflicts within the context of political education;

- improving and deepening the awareness of others, of their way of life, their ties and their interests;
- supporting contact between congregations from the two political systems;
- making the Germans in East and West aware of their special responsibility for peace and
- taking advantage of the annual 10 days of peace for bringing together members of different generations and individuals of different political convictions and ideologies.

The yearning for peace makes people creative. Many people are making an effort to call attention to and in fact accomplish the much-needed about-face by engaging in spontaneous actions and coming up with unusual ideas and symbolic manifestations.

Some examples of this are new forms of praying for peace; fasting and silent vigils; peace workshops, peace festivals and peace games; peace letters among individuals in different countries; actions oriented toward just distribution of goods.

For all that, people will ask whether the steps taken and the methods employed actually take us further along the road to peace. Unusual ideas and spontaneous actions may well give us new impulses; they may be first steps on the road to peace and give a clear indication of a readiness for peace but they also run the risk of being misinterpreted and abused. For this reason, the effect and the consequences of such undertakings should be taken into consideration ahead of time.

For many young Christians in our country, their commitment to peace finds expression in the fact that they object to military service on the grounds of conscience. They are prepared either to do service in the construction units or to accept the consequences for their outright refusal to do military service.

Such witness is intended to stimulate the people to think about a new security policy in view of the tensions existing in our multifariously divided world. The synod views such a decision as a testimony to religious obedience. It is on the side of all those who have reached such a decision on the grounds of conscience.

To do justice to the increased expectations individuals and congregations have placed in the peace actions of the church, the synod requests the conference and the member churches to provide the necessary support in terms of materials and personnel for the counseling and companionship of individuals and groups.

## Report by the Conference of Protestant Church Leaderships

Nuclear deterrence entrusts the security of life to the persuasive power of death. It starts from the assumption that the opponent is not only pursuing certain limited interests but to all intents and purposes aims for the destruction of the other side and can only be deterred from this goal, if one threatens him with equal or even greater destruction. That is how the concept of deterrence as well as the possession and further development of nuclear weapons is being justified until this day. How can we get away from this poisoning of our thinking and this faulty orientation of our actions ?

Let us cite three possible new approaches:

- a lifting of the blockade of consciousness conditioned by the plausibility of old-fashioned concepts (such as he who wants peace should prepare for war). This is where we must make room for peace education programs.
- Support of the principle of equality and equal security in a new setting (not equality based on threats of equal proportions but on acceptance of the security interests of the other side—mutual security).
- Doing away with friend-foe projections used to justify arming for deterrence (discovering and recognizing the other side's capacity for peace).

## Re-thinking Is Possible

One year after the country-wide synod at Halle, we must ask ourselves what we have accomplished by saying no to the spirit and the logic of deterrence. Resignation takes over very rapidly as we note that nothing has changed after all. The point, however, is to be on the alert for signs and testimonials of the changes in awareness; to hold on to them and build on them. Must we not take the two pact systems at their word over and over again when they ascribe the capacity for peace to each other and come out with statements which are binding on them? Let us recall in this connection the document just signed at the second CSCE followup conference in Madrid but also unilateral declarations such as that of the Soviet Union relinquishing first use of nuclear weapons.

Through the signs of individuals, saying no to the spirit and the logic of deterrence takes effect. On several occasions, the conference has come out in support of conscientious objectors and in favor of equal rights and equal respect for construction soldiers. How far do we go in our support in our congregations of those tireless parents and educators who are active in the "education for peace;" who try to influence military education in the sense of peaceful attitudes in the solution of conflicts and work against militaristic education up to and including the substitution of toys that promote peaceable attitudes for military toys ?

As a followup to the 1982 peace convocation the motto of which was "fear---confidence---peace" we are now preparing the fourth convocation for this year the motto of which is "to create peace from the strength of the weak." Our analysis of the 1982 event has shown that this action is increasingly becoming a matter of concern for the entire congregation. Many imaginative ideas for peace were developed and there was a particular recognition of the significance of symbolic acts. Over the past several months, the "swords into plowshares" symbol has been termed a positive symbol for peace in official announcements. We welcome this.

We ask our government to create the room or to maintain it in which people can exercise their responsibility for peace in accordance with their faith and conscience. Questions and independent solutions to official positions must not be suspected automatically as being directed against the state and society. We deplore the fact that while Christians were invited to the 1982 Whitsun "Youth for Peace Demonstration" to take part with their own slogans they were in fact largely excluded, suspected or even kept away by force. In our report to the nation-wide synod in Halle in 1982 we made it clear that we wish to have our responsibility for peace understood and to exercise it within the threefold context of peace-reconciliation-justice. On the basis of the equal rights and the equal respect of which we have been assured, we stand ready to continue to pay heed to this even in areas for which we are not jointly responsible--such as a peace demonstration--and expect our partners in society to think along and go along with us.

Our contribution will be the more effective, if in our work for peace we cooperate with others who disagree with us in ways which permit our own witness to emerge unblemished. But we have frequently found that such cooperation is gladly accepted, if it takes place outside our borders and thus works to the advantage of the foreign policy of the GDR and its international reputation. We gratefully accept and evaluate instances of partnership based on equal rights and equal substance which we have experienced on this level--most recently as part of the GDR delegation at the World Assembly of Peoples for Peace in Prague. But why is it not possible to transfer this type of confident cooperation among different social groups to the domestic scene? Why is it that in this regard distrust, suspicion and outright delimitation--particularly against young people--are the order of the day? Let us put it as clearly as we can: whatever does not appear practicable within our own country will not be portrayed in a convincing manner by us and will not achieve any credibility internationally.

If the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States do not lead to a result acceptable to the NATO countries, the latter have let it be known that they will begin deploying cruise missiles and Pershing II's in December 1983.



This situation represents a special challenge to the responsibility for peace of our churches. There is a danger in our view that the deployment of nuclear weapons systems constitutes a qualitatively new stage of military threat and ushers in a new round in the nuclear arms race. It can place a serious strain on the political climate. We are afraid it will lead to a further militarization of the political and economic situation both inside and between the states of East and West.

Address by Land Bishop Johannes Hempel of Saxony

I would like to address my remarks to the address by Brother Semper...He spoke among other things of the disappointment and the embittered attitude of many citizens of our country and he characterized this disappointment as disappointment "in their friends." He also spoke as one who feels that his place is right here.

I have no simple answers; but I would like to make myself understood. And as always, I may be wrong.

I believe that Brother Semper is right in pointing out this growing disappointment and bitterness in our country. The reasons for it, in our view, are the following:

1. Within our socialist economy as well as in our science organization--especially among the middle and lower cadres--there is a palpable source of disappointment caused by the centralism of our society and enhanced by the problems of the world economy. Many people are asking what meaning there is in their work. We are hearing of the atrophy of our society's creative potential.

We are also hearing that both in the economy and in science--among the middle and lower cadres--Christians are being disadvantaged more than others and that they are having a difficult time regaining their normal standing after becoming involved in some dispute..

We are hearing of a growing tendency--especially in our socialist schools--to roll back courteously but determinedly all efforts by Christian parents to participate in parents' action committees (having long since been excluded from parents' advisory councils).

2. Another reason for the disappointment and bitterness of many citizens of our country may be found, we think, in the unfriendly and in some instances even humiliating treatment accorded them by representatives of the state but also by other citizens. At the middle and/or local level, citizens are frequently accorded harsh or formal treatment particularly with regard to problems of a political nature. We church leaders are not able to do much to counter such lack of courtesy and warmth or such formalistic treatment.

The skeptical and/or suspicious estimate of government representatives on the part of some citizens may also be attributed to the "pedagogically filtered" and "optimistic" way in which adult citizens have been supplied with information for decades ever since the inception of our republic. I can remember, once as a child entering my parents' living room and being asked by them to leave the room at once because they had something serious to discuss. This seems to me to be a metaphor for the way most information is distributed in our society. In socialist society, it is hard to talk about weakness—about one's own weakness or about mutual weakness.

In this context, let me say something about young people. As far as I know, the major part of the young generation usually wants just two things. It asks for the right to give vent to rage and the right to sincerity on the part of their elders. In other words, the majority of the young people want to talk with us older people about their weakness; about ours and thus, in effect, about our mutual weakness. If we permit them to give vent to rage and if we make the effort to deal with them authentically, we will find that most of our young people are a marvelous new generation. Our society makes too few sites available where people can give vent to their anger with impunity. That is why individual cases of it frequently turn out to be inappropriately dramatic. But that can be changed.

3. Still another reason for disappointment or even bitterness on the part of many citizens seems to be (and this is directed against those who are disappointed now) that our claims to a high quality of life have grown throughout the republic. At the outset, this is what the socialist way of life and its moral value system taught us. But now we must slowly re-learn that a life of fulfillment is by no means a "life of plenty."

4. We are under the impression that many citizens who would like to leave our country do not really know the "other world." They can see its good points but not its disadvantages. This leads to illusions. For illusions all of us must pay by experiencing disappointment...Let me say that I have frequently and distinctly taken note of the disappointment, the bitterness and aggressiveness of citizens of such countries—including the aggressiveness of young people in other countries with different social systems.

Let me now reply to questions about military service. The conference report makes reference to a discussion with the state secretary for church affairs in January 1983 in the course of which he responded to a number of questions put to him by the conference in April 1982 on the new military service act.

The state secretary began by saying that article 2, paragraph 3 of the military service act clearly states that service in construction units is equivalent to military service. An oral or written statement of intent to serve in a construction unit must be submitted to the draft board or at the latest at the time of the pre-induction examination. The board thanked the secretary for clearing this point up. At the time, the statement could not



yet be verified; but it has been since. At that time, a number of conscripts who had declared their intent to serve in construction units were inducted into arms-bearing units and later imprisoned. All of them have since been transferred to construction units and this we certainly also have the secretary to thank for. This has made it clear that the previous practice with regard to the construction units will continue under the new military service act as well.

As regards military service by reservists (who have done their military service in arms-bearing units and have sworn the oath of allegiance to the flag) the answer continues to be that this oath has validity throughout a person's term of liability to military service. The board has asked on several occasions that all possibilities of assigning reservists to non-arms-bearing duties be explored and that the responsible NVA commands be instructed accordingly.

Regarding military service by women, the state secretary interpreted the military service act for us by saying that the aim was not to have an annual call-up by year of birth but to have the option of calling up women whose services were needed because of their special knowledge or skills in case of mobilization and/or war.

The state secretary made it clear that the solution of these problems is dependent on the international climate but also on the relationship between state and church in the GDR.

9478

CSO: 2300/13

QUASILEGAL EXPROPRIATION OF D-MARK FUNDS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Sep 83 p 12

/Article by Peter Jochen Winters, editorial staff: "The GDR Always Coinherits"

/Text/ When it is a question of procuring Western currency, the GDR is extremely inventive, utilizing the numerous family relations between people in both parts of Germany in manifold ways to replenish its foreign-currency coffers. Even in inheritance matters it substantially shares in the intake. Whenever a German living in the GDR becomes the heir of a German who has died in the area to which the Basic Law applies, the public foreign-currency treasury of the GDR participates with 10 percent. What is more, in these cases the foreign-currency provisions of the Federal Republic are violated, and lawyers participating in such inheritance matters run the risk of violating professional ethics because they are not familiar with actual conditions in the GDR.

It all started on 1 September 1967, when the Lawyers Bureau for International Civil Right Cases began operations in East Berlin. The bureau, a legal entity, is, according to its new statute confirmed by the GDR minister of justice on 18 December 1980, a voluntary association of GDR lawyers whose task it is "to attend to specific cases of legal counseling and representation of domestic and foreign citizens and legal entities in matters of international civil law." The bureau may take on as members such GDR jurists as have completed their legal training and have had practical legal experience. They have to be familiar with the civil, commercial, family and labor law of other countries and show that they have a knowledge of at least two foreign languages. "As one is admitted to the Lawyers Bureau, one is licensed to practice law," the statute says.

According to legal circles in the GDR, the East Berlin Lawyers Bureau for International Civil Law Cases, located not far from the Wall at 54/55 Hermann-Matern-Strasse, is actually part of a government authority, the Office for Legal Protection under the GDR Ministry of Finance, and the lawyers working in the bureau are salaried employees who have to follow instructions and render reports.

This is not contradicted by the statute of the bureau, which states for example that the bureau exercises an "influence" on "its members implementing conscientiously and in a very expert manner the tasks given to them by their clients."

The bureau creates the "material and organizational prerequisites" for the activities of its members, the statute says. The bureau is directed by a board elected by a member assembly, and the decisions of the board are binding on all members. The statute states further that the chairman insures that the bureau can operate "as regards organization, personnel and funds." Concerning the lawyer's duty of secrecy, the statute says that a member is obliged to keep secret whatever has been confided to him in the exercise of his activity or has become known to him in the course of it. However, "the duty of secrecy does not exist insofar as the person entitled to it has relieved the member of it or insofar as it is his duty to report the matter in accordance with criminal law."

According to GDR foreign-currency regulations, inhabitants of the GDR must report to the GDR State Bank any accounts, real estate, partnerships, collections or other assets owned by them "abroad" (in terms of foreign-currency regulations). The statute states further: "The member has to advise his client of the possible disadvantages in the event that he does not release him from his obligation to secrecy." There is no doubt but that the lawyer's duty of confidentiality is being undermined here substantially, since it is possible for important information to be passed to GDR authorities.

The Lawyers Bureau for International Civil Law Cases gets to be involved in all cases where in matters of civil, commercial, family and labor law it is necessary to guard "the rights and justified interests of citizens and legal entities of the GDR in other countries and in West Berlin." Employees of government offices, on the basis of international instructions, are obligated in such cases to enlist the services of the bureau. Members of local bar associations are under internal instructions to refer clients in foreign matters (definitely including the Federal Republic and West Berlin) to the bureau or to its members in GDR bezirks. Thus the East Berlin Lawyers Bureau has a monopoly of GDR nondomestic cases.

Now if a GDR citizen falls heir to an estate in the area where the Basic Law applies--and turns to a lawyer in the GDR with a view to obtaining his inheritance--he will end up with a "specialist" who is a member of that Lawyers Bureau. The latter concludes a contract with the heir which must also contain an agreement about the fee and expected expenses. In the course of this, a contingency fee (not permissible in the Federal Republic) is agreed on, generally amounting to 10 percent of the inheritance which is due to the heir living in the GDR. This contingency fee cannot, however, be paid by the heir to the "specialist" in Eastern marks, but the amount is taken in by plenipotentiaries of the GDR lawyer in the Federal Republic or West Berlin in deutsche marks.

In accordance with the statute of the Lawyers Bureau, the member has to execute his task "on his own account and, as a matter of principle, in person." Thus neither the heir in the GDR, as the client, nor the correspondent lawyer, in the area covered by the Basic Law, commissioned by the GDR lawyer need to find out that they are actually working with the Lawyers Bureau in East Berlin, and thus in fact with a government authority. The members of the East Berlin Lawyers Bureau, which in these cases does not perform under its own name at all, not only use certain correspondent lawyers in the Federal Republic in inheritance matters but also work with special inheritance research agencies and special

banks, such as a private bank in Heilbronn or the branch of a major bank in Baden-Wuerttemberg. These then also take in, along with their fees, the contingency fees of the GDR lawyers--and thus of the East Berlin Lawyers Bureau--for the statute requires members of the bureau to report their receipts and expenditures to the bureau and settle accounts with it. Via the Lawyers Bureau, the GDR Finance Ministry obtains the right to dispose of considerable amounts of deutsche marks without this being apparent to the outside. Presumably not even the special banks with which the GDR lawyers work together realize that they work in behalf of the Lawyers Bureau for International Civil Law Cases in East Berlin, and thus indirectly in behalf of a GDR government office.

For the protection of Germans in the GDR--to prevent the GDR state from confiscating the Western accounts of its citizens--bank accounts belonging to GDR inhabitants or accruing to them through inheritance are carried as "blocked accounts" in accordance with foreign-currency provisions in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Except for transfers in certain cases as part of the 1975 blocked-accounts agreement with the GDR, transmittals to the GDR are not possible. But certain payments may be made without special authorization from these blocked accounts to recipients in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Thus, among other things, it is possible to settle estate obligations such as taxes and lawyers' fees. So West German points of contact of GDR lawyers in inheritance matters take in from blocked accounts of GDR heirs not only their own fees but also those of the GDR lawyers. By way of balancing accounts or withdrawal of the amount permissible under foreign-currency regulation (now DM 2,000 per calendar month), the fees of GDR lawyers become available to the GDR. In this way the GDR immediately obtains 10 percent of the inheritance of the GDR heir, whereas the heir can dispose of his inheritance in the West only to a very limited degree. The GDR state gets cash, the heir gets a blocked account. Can that be in the interest of the Federal Republic?

8790

CSO: 2300/408

LUTHERAN SYNOD CONVENES IN POTSDAM

Stunned by Deacon's Sentence

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Sep 83 p 6

[Article by K.A.O. datelined Potsdam 18 Sep 83: "Deacon in the GDR Sentenced to Prison: Explanation Does Not Detail Charges"]

[Text] On opening day of the synod of the GDR Federation of Protestant Churches in Potsdam, Deacon Rochau was given a 3-year prison sentence in Halle. This stunned the synod; the sentence passed on Friday--even if the coincidence of dates may not have been intentional--was set up like a roadblock in the way of the effort that is clearly recognizable at this synod: to continue and further strengthen the agreement between the church and the socialist state that was begun during Honecker's discussion with Protestant Church spokesmen on 6 March 1978. Reaction to Rochau's sentencing was reserved. Rochau has appealed. The church does not want to hurt his chances by exposing itself to the accusation that it is interfering while the case is still pending.

During discussions at the synod one question was asked about the sentence, and it was answered by the Magdeburg Consistory President Kramer who is the appropriate authority in this case. The reasons for the sentence that have become known, slander and activities against the state as well as illegal contacts, do not make clear exactly what the deacon was charged with. The public was denied access to the trial. A church representative was not admitted even though the church had asked for this. There were other arrests in Halle and three persons were sentenced who had contacts not with the church but with Rochau. In August a woman was arrested who works in the church. The church does not know the charges against her. As to the motives of government authorities in the Rochau case Kramer could only tell the synod that the district council chairman had explained to Bishop Krusche that Rochau's arrest had nothing to do with his church activities. Before Rochau's arrest, his work agreement with the church had been terminated. The decision about another kind of work for him was to be made at a time when Rochau was already under arrest. As a deacon Rochau remained a church staff member during those weeks. Kramer believes that the state's actions against Rochau seem to be connected with his contacts to people who have applied for permission to leave the GDR. The Protestant Church opposes to this day emigration from the GDR, just as it had opposed fleeing the GDR before the wall was constructed. For years, Rochau

worked in the "open youth work" of the church. This work deals with people on the fringes of society, even if these people have applied for emigration permits. Bishop Drusche pointed out the the district council the potential consequences on church policy that might follow Rochau's arrest.

#### Opposition to Missiles

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 September 83 p 2

[Article by K.A.O. datelined Potsdam 20 Sep 83: "GDR Synod: Dismantle SS 20s Now"]

[Text] On the last day of its discussion in Potsdam-Hermannswerder, the synod of the GDR Federation of Protestant Churches made a number of decisions. Without opposition and abstentions it voted against the "stationing of new rockets" in Europe. It expressed hope for a success of the Geneva negotiations. Nato and the Soviet Union should do everything in their power to come to a successful agreement and to avoid the stationing of new medium-range rockets. For this purpose it could be helpful if the United States enlarged its negotiation base and if the Soviet Union began right now with the suggested dismantling and destruction of SS-20 rockets.

Already in September 1979 during its meeting in Dessau, the synod of the GDR Church Federation had spoken out in favor of new negotiations on nuclear weapons. It proposed that the nations of the Warsaw Pact and Nato renounce decisions "that promote the escalation of competitive rearmament in Europe." On Tuesday, the synod said that if the Geneva negotiations fail and Pershing II and Cruise Missiles are stationed in Europe "another round of competitive nuclear rearmament would begin." "By shortening the warning period, the room for political action in case of a crisis will be limited to a frightening degree," misunderstandings or technical or human failure would than make it all the easier to bring about a nuclear catastrophe. "The stationing of any new rockets can only increase the danger of the military situation in Europe."

There is still time to find a solution. "We would consider it a constructive contribution if the Nato countries would expand their negotiation base in Geneva so that a successful conclusion becomes possible and the stationing of rockets in December 1983 could be avoided, and if the USSR begins immediately with the promised dismantling and scrapping of SS-20 medium-range rockets." In addition, the synod believes that a moratorium on the introduction of shorter range nuclear rockets could have a positive influence on the Geneva negotiations. The synod welcomes the fact that the leaders of the GDR Church Federation and of the Council of Protestant Churches have turned to the governments in East Berlin and Bonn with the request that they work within their system of alliances for the success of the Geneva negotiations and for reaching an agreement on a noticeable reduction of weapons systems.

#### Calls for Government Adjustments

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by K.A.O. datelined Potsdam 20 Sep 83: "Church in GDR Demands More Openness: Freedom for Man's Autonomy Recommended--the Synod"]

[Text] At its synod in Potsdam-Hermannswerder the GDR Federation of Protestant Churches has asked government leaders to show greater trust in the people of the GDR, and to deal with them more openly. The synod acknowledged "the pragmatic cooperation with state authorities and institutions" shown during events held on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Luther on 10 November 1483. This cooperation resulted in a decrease of prejudices and mistrust: "These positive experiences should encourage the people who are politically responsible in our country to risk more trust in the maturity of young, adult and old people." The GDR government is asked specifically "to grant more freedom and autonomy for the life style of the young generation, and more openness in information policies." The positive experiences of this year should be a model for the future.

The fact that beside the positive cooperation there are also other conflicts that characterize the relation between church and state in the GDR is made clear by the importance placed on the open work of the church as described in the final statement of the synod. This is the kind of work done outside church institutions, and it includes aid given to all those seeking counsel, to the handicapped, the unfortunate, to people who have experienced need or guilt, and also to those who are social and political outsiders including those who want to leave the country, especially among the young. Concern for the unimpeded continuation of this work was raised by the sentencing of Deacon Rochau in Halle who was given a 3-year prison sentence on the day the synod opened. Even though the district council chairman had assured Bishop Krusche that Rochau's arrest had nothing to do with his church work, nothing is known about the trial that was held behind closed doors.

The intention of the church to continue its open work was especially emphasized by the synod, most clearly by Bishop Leich of Thuringia. Rochau was active in this open work of the church. In this capacity he dealt with many young people who had filed applications to leave the GDR. Even though the Protestant Church is opposed to emigration from the GDR, the synod stated that openness toward all people is an intrinsic part of the church. "The church is open also for all people who seek in the church acceptance, understanding, protection and safety, dialog and communication, help and company for their lives," the synod said in its resolution. It asked the parishes to help with this open work "which is often uncustomary and conducive to conflicts for the church."

8889

CSO: 2300/418

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Superiors Discussed

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 24 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ciszek, director of the Cadre Department of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce, by Jerzy Glebocki; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Everyone wants to have an intelligent and fair party superior; also, whoever runs the administration cannot be indifferent. So our interests are mutual, but cadre policy was sharply attacked in 1980-81.

[Answer] And rightly so. Deviations from socialist principles touched this area of party activity. The climate created in the 1970's and a growth in bureaucratic centralism in the party warped its political cadre, among other areas. Too often, important positions were occupied by subservient, yet arrogant, people without an opinion of their own.

[Question] That is what was criticized. Simultaneously, however, some people clamored for depriving the party of the right to operate cadre policy, which was a proverbial throwing out of the baby with the bath water.

[Answer] Here opponents of socialism, or at least their followers, perhaps unintentionally, made themselves known. For historical, political and class reasons, the party has the duty of attending to the selection of people to managerial positions. I remember that, in this spirit, we argued in SLOWO LUDU with concepts foreign to us.

[Question] Yes, but what do we do today to keep from repeating old mistakes. This depends also on the political culture of society, and on the development of our democracy, especially in the basic party organizations.

[Answer] In a word, it depends on the political climate, but also on the clarity of the kind of cadre policy there is to be and what we want to gain by it.

[Question] Do we have such a guideline?



[Answer] Undoubtedly, it is the document of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, entitled "Main Assumptions of the Cadre Policy of the PZPR." This document was drawn up in consultation with the crews of 350 key enterprises and is still excellent. Members of the Central Committee have voiced their additional concerns. Its final version will be adopted by the next Central Committee plenum.

[Question] What in this document is most important?

[Answer] The definition of the principles of selection of the managerial cadres. The deciding criteria are high ideological-political and ethical-moral principles, acceptance of socialism, honesty, and modesty. Of course, high professional qualification, knowledge, experience, and also organizational and managerial abilities and, positively, responsibility. Also required of the candidate is the capacity to live together with people, to create a good climate in the group as well as sensitivity to the everyday problems of people.

[Question] That is a fine group of assets and virtues, simply ideal.

[Answer] Let's not exaggerate. There is no lack in our society of just such people.

[Question] Common complaints against superiors seem to contradict that, but of course we really have not been able to draw out the best.

[Answer] This criticism of cadre policy came from many levels. There were incredible hired applauders which naturally bothered people, but there were good people, too. The difficult years strengthened each position.

[Question] This was a practical test in a difficult situation. Maybe we could have a few facts and figures.

[Answer] At the voivodship level, more exactly in positions which thus far have been part of the nomenklatura of the Voivodship Committee from January 1981 to May 1983, 947 cadre changes were made. That is a lot--55 percent. I should say here that in the party apparatus, from the gmina to the voivodship, the changes exceed 80 percent of the previous status.

[Question] The party apparatus is a separate topic. Let's return to those from the nomenklatura--what about them?

[Answer] When it comes to cadre politics, according to the document of the Politburo, it binds everyone to the same degree and so its rules also concern the party apparatus. As far as the nomenklatura goes, we have seriously limited its range, leaving more decisions to the local area. As for the changes, 270 persons of the 947 left at their own request, and one-sixth retired. A total of 81 persons did not fulfill the requirements and went to other positions.

[Question] So the cadre merry-go-round continues to turn?

[Answer] No. Definitely, no. These people were undone by the tasks at the positions they held; that is how it is, after all. They have, however, a store of experience and knowledge, and they are honest and work perfectly well in jobs with a lesser range of responsibility and activity. Sometimes they lacked that certain vigor so necessary in the more responsible positions.

[Question] It is true that young people have more spark. The thing now is to join experience with this energy.

[Answer] That is it. Among us, a cadre change is always a sensation. We still do not know how nicely, with respect, to bid farewell to people leaving the easy chair, nor nicely to leave this easy chair ourselves. A change of guard is, after all, a normal thing. In my opinion, the passing of the baton to the young is occurring too slowly. I know a director of an important voivodship center who is under 30 years of age. I think that we have more such young and talented people.

[Question] There is no so-called generation conflict; however, there is general and political culture or there is not, and there is goodwill or a lack of it.

[Answer] In the years 1980-81, some people needed to fan hostility and conflicts, to sow suspicion toward all authority. Then there were many injurious deviations, bitter retribution for a whole life's work.

[Question] A hellish principle: the hack does his own work and can leave. But what about these people?

[Answer] The Voivodship Committee administration is definitely trying, and with success, to correct these wrongs.

[Question] Not all were good, however; there were some dirty dogs in particular positions.

[Answer] Yes, there were. There was enforced removal of 17 persons from managerial positions for excesses, for material gains, and for pursuing private interests. Moreover, 42 persons lost, as people now say, the capacity to direct. Things were a mess with uneconomical management, organizational paralysis, and a lack of supervisory control.

[Question] The best cadre policy, however, is always accompanied by a certain risk, because after all it is difficult to foresee what kind of a person someone will be after an advancement. It is said that all power corrupts.

[Answer] There is never 100-percent certainty, but the new principles of cadre policy decrease the degree of risk to a minimum. In all forms of advancement, whether by way of appointment, election, or competition, there must always be more than one candidate so as to make possible a determination of who is better. In the appointment of candidates, their work to date at

lower managerial functions, how they worked with subordinates, and how they solved difficult problems were also taken into account, and, of course, the opinions of political parties, and social organizations, and in the case of party members the basic parent organization must recommend the candidate for the managerial position.

[Question] With the party recommendation, the situation varies. I know POP's [basic party organizations] which did not have any input in proposed advances.

[Answer] This is true. It happens even though the requirement of recommendation is contained in the statutes passed at the Ninth Congress. It is apparent that not all POP's know their rights and some administrations bypass this statute. We discuss, we warn.

[Question] And must non-party-member candidates be recommended for advance by the POP?

[Answer] In my opinion the basic organization should to a greater degree look at non-party members when advances are to be made, and give them consideration. \*

[Question] I return, however, to that captivating charm of authority and thus to necessary social control. It happens that POP's do not want to criticize directors, supervisors, and cadre. They wait until the echelon or the party control commission does that. The fear of retaliation still sits strongly in us.

[Answer] Again we return to political culture. We must study it constantly. In conflict situations when the POP is at a loss, it is necessary to turn to the party echelon, and it must help.

[Question] Further guarantees of the good work of the cadre?

[Answer] Systematic evaluations of the cadre. There must be an assessment or review once a year and a complex evaluation of the cadre in the voivodship every 4 years. This is the duty of the directors of enterprises and of founding organizations. Each person in a position must be evaluated, but each also has the right to appeal the results of this evaluation. And when it comes to decreasing the risk in selecting candidates for advancement, it is fundamental to create in every plant a reserve cadre for all managerial positions. This is a democratic designation and means working with these people, improvement and professional development, and assignment of difficult tasks. In this respect, things are not good in many plants. Each candidate must know that he is on a list and must also be informed as to the reason he might be eliminated from it.

[Question] The following organizations have the right of political approval of cadre proposals: The Central Committee; the Politburo; the Central Committee Secretariat; voivodship, city, city district, city-gmina, gmina and plant committees as well as their executive boards. If, for example, the gmina committee has a party and non-party candidate, it will perhaps be inclined to choose the party member; he is supposed to be our man so you can present him to the committee "on a carpet"....

[Answer] The person counts above all his abilities, and not his affiliation. I admit that the course of thinking I mentioned may exist, but the principle that knowledge, professionalism, and abilities count must prevail. I think that logic will win. After all, every party echelon depends on all enterprises working well, and the cadre decides this. Operating by other criteria is cutting off the branch you sit on.

[Question] And so again we have returned to political culture. The principles of the new cadre policy are good--if they will only be well realized.

[Answer] They must be realized. Everything depends on this--a quick emergence from the crisis, satisfying society, and regaining party authority.

#### Tarnow Authorities Visit Work Places

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by R.Z.]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday, representatives of the political and administrative authorities of Tarnow voivodship met with the administrative workers' aktiv of Bochnia, Brzesk and Debica. Today a similar meeting will take place in Tarnow. Yesterday's visit to these areas did not have a showy character. Visits to the largest work places of the above-mentioned cities were normal workers' meetings resulting from the work plan of the directors of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the Voivodship Office within the framework of direct contacts of the authorities with crews of the enterprises. Tarnow Governor Stanislaw Nowak and Tarnow PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Jan Karkowski came to Bochnia. Tarnow PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Wladyslaw Plewniak and Vice Governor Jan Pieniadz were in the Debica and Pustkow regions, while Voivodship Committee Secretary Jerzy Sobiecki and Vice Governor Marian Chudzik were in the Brzesk region.

The visit to the work places was devoted mainly to an analysis of the realization of the adopted socioeconomic plan, to the preparation of the plant crews for winter, and to social matters and problems with living conditions, and also helped acquaint the authorities with the problems which workers commonly encounter.

During the visits to the plants, representatives of the authorities met with the workers, administrative employees, directors and foremen, representatives of the party and of trade unions and also of workers' self-governing bodies. Purely human problems, sometimes besetting many workers for months, were discussed. The findings of the visit were discussed on the spot with the plant administration, and matters beyond their competence--with city authorities.

Stanislaw Nowak and Jan Karkowski visited the Metal Manufacturing Plant of the Lenin Steel Works in Bochnia and carried on conversations with workers at the Flexible Metal Sections Department and the Sheet Metal Department as well as with the directors of the enterprise. The current sociopolitical situation and the realization of production assignments were evaluated. Production is going

at a normal rhythm despite the fact that at the end of August of this year, from several circles suggestions increased concerning the designation of work, and in this context attempts at exerting pressure on the crew increased as well. It looks like production this year will be greater than last year. On his visit to Bochnia the governor had occasion to acquaint himself with the supply situation and the functioning of collective feeding stations.

Wladyslaw Plewniak and Jan Pieniadz visited Debica. They became acquainted with the situation of the Stomil Automotive Tire Works. Work has been started there after a 2-week planned shutdown caused by the annual renovation of the plant. The supply of raw materials is good but Stomil faces great cadre problems, mainly in the production sphere. Additional government orders which came in to the plant require the quickest possible solution to the problem of a shortage of hands to work. In the conversations, the workers pointed out the problems of supplying stores with food articles and household goods. A number of theories were advanced on the trade question; many concerns came out on the agency-store system. In the opinion of those asked, there is something wrong with the supply of bread to Debica and the surrounding areas.

Thus, the construction of a bakery in Debica by the Voivodship Consumers' Co-operative is reaching the importance of a priority, as is water supply for the city.

Jerzy Sobiecki and Marian Chudzik visited Brzesk. In the Tin Container Factory [FOB] there are, in contrast to Stomil, raw materials problems. There is a shortage of galvanized sheet metal, the producer of which is the Lenin Steel Works in Krakow-Nowa Huta. The workers at FOB in Brzesk indicated to the authorities that, in the plant, the prices of substantial meals for the crew are excessive. The problem, and it is a big one, of the increase in criminal offenses in the Brzesk region, committed mainly under the influence of alcohol, was also raised.

All the matters recorded during yesterday's and today's visit will be discussed in detail during the next meeting of the Tarnow PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretariat on Friday, 26 August, and a plan for their realization will be adopted.

9915

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COMMENTATOR JOINS TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY POLEMIC

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Lobman: "In the Fog of Negation"]

[Text] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 35 printed an answer by its editor Jerzy Turowicz to Minister Jerzy Urban's comments on an article in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, already discussed in TRYBUNA LUDU and entitled "What Kind of a Country Will Poland Be?" This is an extremely essential question. Moreover, there were remarks on the subject of my views in this matter in editor Turowicz's text. Let me, therefore, be permitted to continue participating in the discussion.

The argument concerns the image of Poland which editor Turowicz presents in both his articles. The image is dichotomous and untrue. On one hand, there are the "authorities," on the other there is "society." Or rather, since editor Turowicz attempts to soften formally his peremptory remarks, the "great majority" of society. These are for the author two permanent elements, unchanging, comparatively monolithic and, by implication, mutually antagonistic. In such a situation, the solution to Polish problems is in the "dialogue" and in the "compromise" worked out as a result of it, between the opposing rationales of those two forces. However, today, as a result of activities of the "authorities" there is no proper "climate" which would make this dialogue possible.

The author states that the division between the authorities and the society has been deepened by the imposition of martial law and that the conditions for lifting martial law did not help to overcome the crisis of confidence. Next, he presents a critique of the "repressive legislation," as he calls it, passed by the Sejm after the lifting of martial law, which allows one to assume that he considers the present state to be one of "suspended" rather than lifted martial law. Even more. The statement contained in editor Turowicz's first article about the introduction of new limitations on civil rights and the whole context of the article under discussion appear to attest to the fact that the author of these statements suggests that the situation which he writes about has not improved, but, on the contrary, has grown worse. Could this be so in fact?

Several remarks come to mind.

1. What does Jerzy Turowicz have in mind when he speaks about "authorities" in the above-mentioned context? A definite group of people? It is true that the so-called Gierek team lost touch with society at a certain moment. But the author is not concerned with them. And so with what? If not with the group of people who represent the authorities, then maybe with those forces which call the authorities into existence. With defined social classes and the political organizations representing them. But this would also change the nature of the discussion. As long as we do not state what sort of "authorities" are the subject of our discussion, our argument will keep hanging in the air.

2. Editor Turowicz also states that before December 13, 1981, society stated "rather clearly what it wants and what it does not want." This is already a clearer statement, and, I would say, a controversial one. It seems to me that it would be more appropriate to move the date backwards to some time around August 1980. Many events of our recent history have resulted precisely from the fact that at the end of 1980 and during 1981 the voice of society which did not want deformed socialism was drowned out by "mugs screaming for the people" who did not want socialism at all. But editor Turowicz himself admitted at one point that the great majority of society in our country "does not demand the overthrow of the socialist system in our country." And so, in fact, Polish society said what "it wants and what it does not want," only not then and not in the language to which editor Turowicz seems to refer.

In this context one other comment comes to mind. If for a moment one assumes editor Turowicz's manner of thinking, then it is difficult not to notice that he addresses all his demands to the "authorities." Or, to be more precise, to the state. When he speaks about the "society," he is only able to stress its "desiderata" and phobias. But for the state to function correctly the community should perform its civic duties. This aspect of the matter clearly evades editor Turowicz's view or simply does not interest him. But in such a case, even if we accept his dichotomous division of the society, it calls for a dictate on the part of one side and not for a dialogue.

This is clearly seen in connection with what editor Turowicz calls "repressive legislation." This description is improper. The decrees adopted by the Sejm for the transition period do not limit any normal social activity and so are not repressive. Their aim is to guarantee security against activity which breeds discord and which is always destructive in a state, and in particular during our crisis difficulties. As I already mentioned in a previous article, this legislation will not be noticeable at all to a loyal citizen.

One cannot fail to note that the incessant returning to this topic has a demagogical character. Even the arguments used by editor Turowicz attest to this. He asks, for instance (and he treats this clearly as a rhetorical question), whether "readiness to enter into a dialogue" is attested to by the manner in which the daily press reported the speeches by deputies Jan Szczepanski and Karol Malczynski. But both these speeches were given in



TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (No 34), and this was not interfered with by any "repressive legislation." If other press organs devoted less space to these speeches, it was because they considered them to be of lesser significance than did TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Are they not allowed to have their own opinion in this matter? Are not editor Turowicz's complaints in this matter indicative of his "repressive" manner of thinking?

Incidentally, some people in our country, among them editor Turowicz, even though he does not admit it, attempt to behave as if they had an exclusive right to represent the entire society. It would be difficult to find out who gave them such privileges and when. And this form does not facilitate the exchange of views and mutual understanding. It is most difficult to argue in a concrete manner with obsessed prophets.

Let us return to our main considerations. The Polish authorities have not been sent to earth from another world, they are not given by "God's grace." These are authorities that have grown out of society. They constitute a part of this society, a society in which different views on various daily affairs are viable. In these matters a nationwide discussion is needed, a discussion with the participation of the "authorities" as well, and not a "dialogue" in which "the authorities" and "society" will take part. But a true test of attitudes in these and all other cases is not words but first of all deeds.

With these deeds the authorities prove every day that they act in accordance with the wishes and strivings of a considerable majority of society. The latter are served by, to mention only the matter of the "subjectivity" of society so close to editor Turowicz's heart, the laws on worker and territorial self-government and by the law on academic autonomy, which has been criticized by my adversary, and by many other legal acts prepared according to the principles of the Ninth Congress, many of them during martial law. Laws which are to ensure the most effective work possible during the period of emergence from the crisis serve this purpose in an objective manner, because without overcoming the crisis all discussions on the topic of "subjectivity," "freedom," and many other great slogans (contained first of all in socialist ideas) are only words.

It is true that there are still living in society many prejudices and resentments which grew during the previous regime, but in the light of reality, in the light of actions by today's "authorities," these are psychological occurrences which do not fit today's realities, grown out of other realities. In this sense, the dichotomy "authorities"--"society" is a myth. It is a myth which directs social energy in a non-creative direction, moreover, in a destructive direction at a time when it is in the common interest to direct this energy in a creative direction, to come out of the crisis as quickly as possible.

I believe that it is high time to understand that every activity which supports this dichotomous concept of mutually opposed "authorities" and "society" simply hampers our development, and objectively strikes at social interests, although it certainly makes constructive activity by the authorities more difficult.



Here we are reaching the heart of the matter. In fact, in both his articles, editor Turowicz, draping himself in the toga of the advocate of the "entire" or "almost all of" society, attempts to question all that is being done in today's Poland. He ignores or simply negates deeds or, to use his formulation, facts, which are formed under the direction of the party by the state authorities and the Sejm, and which are in the social interest. These facts, which result from consultation with society, are supported by truly constructive, broad and very meaningful social forces such as, for instance, the more than 3 million members of trade unions, the constantly growing and solidifying ranks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], the millions of members of the Polish United Workers Party and allied parties, or, finally, the entire working class, which has been consulted in innumerable meetings, with factory work forces and also with its non-unionized part. "The authorities," to use editor Turowicz's vocabulary, do not limit themselves to consultations with circles agreeing with them. This is attested to by the continuing dialogue with the Church. This fact must be known to editor Turowicz. This is precisely a dialogue, which does not mean that one of the sides (according to editor Turowicz--"the authorities") would have to accept all the proposals and desiderata of the other side. Then it would not be a dialogue but a dictate.

What then does editor Turowicz's criticism mean, when he accuses the authorities of lack of "courage and imagination" and advises them to have "greater consideration for what society really wishes"? What do the voices which are heard in circles close to him have in mind when they advocate "dialogue" with the social forces that count, as they are called. Are they not the forces mentioned above.

Editor Turowicz stubbornly juxtaposes to all facts created by "the authorities" and their deeds only his own call to "dialogue" which, as we have attempted to show, has no bearing on the existing situation. He juxtaposes only his type of verbal acrobatics. He answers the positive program of action which is being implemented by the authorities with a program of negation.

His statement that almost 40 years of living in a socialist system suffices for him to know what sort of socialism he does not want has a sort of symbolic value. He does not indicate what sort of socialism he wants, and whether he wants it at all. When criticizing what is taking place in the sphere of reality, editor Turowicz does not present any program of his own. His constant and exclusive "no" necessarily pushes him to positions which are demagogical and barren.

Poland of the future is being created first of all by work. This creation is also helped by discussion. Let it be the broadest discussion possible. A discussion about what kind of Poland this socialist Poland will be. In this discussion there is of course a place for everybody. Also for editor Jerzy Turowicz. He prefers, however, just as did the "Krakow matron" described 75 years ago by Boy, to place himself in the position of "brave partisan of oppressed Polish nationals," who "resurrects the old-fashioned virtues" and crushes "new trends." He is sitting on the sofa and complaining. Such an attitude does not contribute to the construction of anything. It is also not participation in a discussion. Such discussants place themselves objectively in a destructive position with respect to an authentic dialogue.

9971

CSO: 2600/1331

## PZPR'S LORANC ASSESSES NATURE OF IDEOLOGY, POLISH APPLICATION

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 2 Sep 83 pp 1, 3, 4, 5, 6

/Interview with Dr Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, by Marian Wisniewski; cited article by Adam Schaff published under the title "Scholar Views Socialist Revolutions As Non-Marxist" in JPRS 84097, No 2182 of this series, 11 Aug 83 pp 43-49

/Text /Question Let us begin by attempting to answer a seemingly simple question: Why do we need ideology and of what use is it in social practice?

/Answer Essentially, we can only make an attempt at answering it here. It is impossible to state point-blank of what use a certain form of social awareness is. However, my attempt at an answer would be as follows: Ideology or a system of concepts--and a concept according to Oscar Lang is a conscious social attitude--is necessary so that an individual, a social group or an entire social class may understand the world; so that it may properly understand the nature of the social forces which present it with certain evaluations, proposals or opinions. In other words, ideology is necessary so that an individual, social group or class can have a relatively accurate understanding of the nature of the slogans which are continually aimed at it. Both the evaluations and the offers with which we come in contact are always, and this is something which we should keep in mind, a fragment of some sort of larger system or grouping. We cannot have an approbatory or negative attitude if we do not have some sort of an opinion or outlook on the world which is defined as ideology.

This is one reason. A second reason is that we ought to keep in mind that every ideology is built from some sort of social point of view, from the point of view of a specific class, group or community. It is an attempt at answering a given social need. Thus, for example, Marxism-Leninism is an attempt to look at the world from the point of view of the interests of the workers class, which is the basic social builder, and, therefore, is a form of looking at and understanding the world created, so to say, from the bottom.

/Question Simply put, the workers class implements this ideology.

/Answer Well, it not only implements it but in declaring itself in favor of this ideology and in choosing it, the workers class makes it clear in this way that this is how the entire structure of the world looks from its point of view; that this is in keeping with its everyday, producer-oriented, and therefore, social experience.

Ideology is, therefore, necessary and serves that class and that social sphere for which it was created. Thus, the nature of our ideology--because I am no longer talking here about ideology in general--is the striving to view the world, as far as the situation of an individual and of entire classes is concerned, from this lowermost rung. This is not without significance. With time, this has increasingly more important social significance. I repeat that within this ideology, the social structure and the place of the particular partners of the social process is described and specified from the bottom. This is a world seen from the bottom rung.

/Question/ Within this context, the observation that we are, so to say, witnessing a regression of ideological interests and that we are supposedly living in the era of the end of ideology is, I would think, greatly exaggerated, if not utterly false. Man will always have to refer to a specific system of values even if only not to feel alone when in contact with a complicated world structure.

/Answer/ This thesis is tied to the publications of Daniel Bell and to Raymond Aron, whose book gave a name to the entire phenomenon. What I have in mind here is his book entitled, "The End of the Age of Ideology." This concept of the supposed end of the era of ideology has experienced enormous, unequivocal discredit during our time. It represents a clearly outdated view of the problem. This illusion may have been possible during the 1960's or the beginning of the 1970's; however, toward the end of the 1970's, and especially today, this hypothesis is essentially unfounded. After all, we are living in a period of particularly aggravated ideological struggle which, I would think, is obvious to everyone.

I would like to cite here a generally known example. For a long time, capitalism tried to promote various concepts, such as, for example, the vision of a prosperous nation, a caring nation, etc. These were concepts which tried to demonstrate that sociomaterial progress had gone so far that the factors which gave rise to and nurtured ideologies in the 19th century ceased to have justification; that in reality the era of ideologies ended with World War II and without a doubt at the moment which we call the end of the Cold War period. And thus, the deideologization of our world and of our era was triumphantly pronounced. It was declared that the predictions of Marxism did not really prove true; that, briefly speaking, ideology should be relegated to the pages of historical annals in a museum. Meanwhile, the latter part of the 1970's and the turn of the 1980's became a period of extremely aggravated political confrontation. The West turned to an armaments policy and war threats.

/Question/ This is something more than the loss of face by these pseudotheories.

/Answer/ All theoretical revelations such as the welfare state, people's capitalism or the managers' revolution were thrown out without qualms onto the proverbial garbage pile and a totally medieval arsenal of ideological measures was brought in. An extremely emphatic expression of this evolution of outlooks is Reagan's anticommunist crusade. What can this mean other than the admission that previous concepts did not prove true? Simply put, it is no longer possible politically to control the previous alleged theoretical revelations about the world. And for this reason a tried and true arsenal of measures and arguments was placed into operation.

/Question/ Thus, we have here an example of the use of ideology for clearly instrumental purposes--political struggle.

/Answer/ That with which I tried to answer the first question earlier also serves as an answer to this problem. Ideology is not a system of views which is addressed to every person in an identical manner regardless of his or her social position. Ideology is that specific property of social views which they assume at the moment when they become a part of someone in a class or community--professional sense. The specific views take on an ideological character when they become part of a whole, a part of a system, when they are selected by a given social class. From this point of view, it may be said that this is when they become a weapon of political and and class struggle.

/Question/ It seems that this is the kind of situation that Marx had in mind when he said that ideology becomes a material force when it conquers the masses.

/Answer/ It may be said, in effect, that every variation, every mutation of ideology is a weapon in battle and a material force in political confrontations, class conflicts and in their solutions. In other words, it may be said that ideology is always an instrument of social struggle. Ideology, speaking somewhat metaphorically, is not something cold which does not belong to anyone and which may be used in the same manner by everyone. It may be stated further that every system of outlooks has a differing social range and a differing duration in time. There are short-lived ideological ephemerids such as, for example, fascism, which had a glittering career particularly with respect to the German and Italian population. It collapsed as a result of immanent errors which existed from the very beginning and it ended its social existence alone.

/Question/ The possibility of a recurrence under specific circumstances always exists.

/Answer/ Yes. There is the possibility that a similar system will appear in the future. This should be kept in mind. By this example, I would simply like to demonstrate that ideologies differ in their duration; there are those like Christianity and there are ephemerids like the aforementioned fascism; and finally there are ideologies which last as long as the classes involved need them. Here we can refer to Marxism-Leninism and its relationship with the workers class.

/Question/ We are talking here about the social roots of ideology, about its auxiliary function in relation to a particular social class or group. And yet, it will not be able to fulfill this function if it is devoid of cognitive values; it will no longer be fruitful or intellectually attractive. Currently, the charge is being made frequently that it appears as though Marxist-Leninist ideology has lost its former intellectual attraction, at least in certain intellectual communities.

/Answer/ This question concerns the complicated nature of that social class which is the intelligentsia. I would say that to be an intellectual is more a profession than a permanent social position, in comparison to the position held by the owner of production resources or that of a proletarian. The intelligentsia is a social class which is tied to the basic social classes in a given historical period and serves them, so to speak. It acts on one or the other side of the barricade, depending on the choice made by a particular intellectual.

This choice depends on many factors: on education, the degree of moral sensitivity and, above all, on experience and the social environment. Let us repeat again that the intelligentsia is the kind of social group which can create, popularize and use ideology from the point of view of different sides; of the social heroes of one and the other side. Thus, the issue of the attractiveness of ideology for the intelligentsia is reduced to an answer to the question: What is attractive to whom, to what kind of intellectual community and for which part of it?

/Question/ Especially today.

/Answer/ Especially today when a large segment of the intelligentsia is without question trying to build its philosophy of life by shaping it as though apart from pure politics and within the sphere of influence of Christian philosophy. A part of this class, something which does not have to be concealed, remains openly under the influence of the views of capitalist systems.

The question also calls attention to an issue of extreme importance, namely, the formal attraction of a given direction of intellectual thought. How is it expressed and to what extent does it grasp the imagination of the recipient? This depends on the ideologist's skill. There may be views which are exceptionally interesting cognitively as well as wise and mature but, due to the imperviousness of their language and the method of presentation, they will not acquire social resonance for a long time to come. Conversely, there are views which are expressed clearly and convincingly and which immediately rise to dizzying heights of success within society. However, this success is usually short-lived.

We are touching here upon that which in philosophy we call the role of the subjective factor. If an ideologist, thinker or theoretician is particularly gifted to the extent of Marx, Plekhanov and especially Lenin, who combined the rare gift of developing concepts with their dissemination, then through its presentation alone a given ideology becomes more attractive naturally.

/Question/ And how about youth? To what degree does it accept Marxist ideas today?

/Answer/ For the time being, let us stay with the generation of young educated persons. Thus, they reduce the postulate of attractiveness to the necessity of departing from the repetition of prepared formulas. They appear to be calling out: Stop making it all a rote lesson; stop this incessant stammering out of philosophical views. I would like to point out here that repetition in itself does not as yet detract from the attractiveness of a system's views. There is no automation involved here. I would like to refer to two very different examples by way of proof. The first example is the following beautiful thought of J. W. Goethe: "What kind of truth would this be," states he, "if it could not bear repeating?" Goethe, thus, points out that every philosophical outlook, if it is true, can and should be repeated....

/Question/ Practically speaking, Christianity has been repeating the same truths for the past 2000 years.

/Answer/ And this brings me to the second example which has been suggested by you. Let us take the Ten Commandments which were codified by Moses, thus, long before the onset of Christianity. Their truths and commands have been repeated invariably for several thousand years and no one refutes their captivating quality because of it. At the most, certain inconsistencies or motivations of one kind or another in their use are pointed out. However, the fact itself that they are constantly repeated does not decide either about the validity or attractiveness of these or other theses.

/Question/ But how does the necessity of repetition or the dissemination of ideology compare to an equally important requirement which is its creative development? Lately, what appears to me to be a justified charge that there is a lot of work to be done in that second area of activity has been brought up frequently?

/Answer/ We must concede to the criticism that the responsibility of ideologists cannot be reduced to the dissemination of ideology alone. Of course, it is worth giving thought to the reasons for the waning of incentives for the creative development of social thought.

/Question/ At this moment, I would like to ask to what degree our ideology which, after all, has a scientific character, keeps pace with progress in the sciences?

/Answer/ The scientific character of our ideology is determined, which is a known fact, by its relationship with specific disciplines, both the natural and technical sciences. Marxist ideology has always, although admittedly at times not very consistently, since there were periods when it did this declaratively, referred back to the cognitive base of the exact sciences. It /Marxist ideology/ is based on their discoveries and generalizations; it wants to grow with and through them.

Therefore, it has a different relationship with science than religious systems such as, for example, Catholicism, which do not feel the need for such a close relationship. Science in the case of religion is supposed to facilitate the understanding of the revealed truths of faith; however, the truths themselves remain unchanged and exist in the ultimate form from the moment of their formulation. On the other hand, our ideology does not claim anything of the kind. Quite the contrary, it assumes that the ultimate form and maturity of solutions must undergo continual changes depending on what the exact sciences discover and how their achievements become codified by the synthetic sciences such as history, philosophy, sociology. That is one difference.

/Question/ It seems that we are somewhat behind the strides made by the exact sciences and their synthesis through the social sciences.

/Answer/ Not only are we lagging behind but in sometimes succumbing to specific determining factors of labor movement growth such as, for example, at the turn of the 1950's--a turn which elapsed under the banner of the cult of the individual--we declare our positive attitude toward the exact sciences to a much higher degree than we make actual use of it.



In returning to the subject at hand, the second property which determines the scientific character of our ideology comes down to the basic fact that it is created, as we have already mentioned, from the point of view of the interests of this increasingly more significant social class, which is the workers class. This means that the workers class is not and will not be interested in the future in some sort of camouflaged image of the world. On the contrary, its social condition improves with a better and more thorough understanding of the nature of social life and with improved and deeper insight into social mechanisms. Whenever there occurs a suspension of these natural relationships during certain periods in history, then by force of the experiences and pressure exerted by the interests of the workers class, a breaking down of restrictions or imposed barriers occurs. Between the workers class and the theory which expresses its interests, i.e., Marxism-Leninism, there is nothing, no formal obstacle in transmission which could lead to a camouflage of the scientific image of the world.

/Question/ How then should ideology be disseminated so as to prompt people to take up creative activity and not activity with oneself in mind?

/Answer/ I will answer concisely: Disseminate it in such a way so as not to lose sight of the goals of dissemination, i.e., the need to provide for the interests of the workers class. Prepared formulas and only that about which one is knowledgeable should not be disseminated in a prayerlike fashion. It must be admitted that dull words, brimming full sentences and an officially orderly style are not the strong points of our ideology. Our ideology can be disseminated successfully if we do not give recognition even for a moment to the question of why it is actually being done. The answer is: in order to improve the social condition of the workers class and to strengthen its influence on the overall appearance of life. If this precondition, this practical substantiation of the reasons for the dissemination of our ideology is kept in mind, then this automatically promotes the attractiveness of the presentation because that which I would call the personal attitude of an ideologist toward that which he does has bearing on said attractiveness and effectiveness.

/Question/ In other words, we should always be on the side of the workers class.

/Answer/ In any case, I do not believe in the effectiveness of dissemination which takes place somewhat on the basis of rendering services, nor do I believe in the structure of a specific ideological workshop which performs services for the public. It would seem that ideology is a form of activity and of social presence which requires a decisively personal approach to that which is being done. If we are going to continue to hold on to this jocular comparison with an artisan's workshop and his rendering of services, then we ought to reach out for the best moments in the crafts trade when it bordered on art. When the craftsman placed his stamp or symbol on his work and when this stamp signified that he was assuming full responsibility, this confirmed the quality of the work.

Thus, an ideologist who can disseminate successfully is one who is at peace with himself. Regardless of how well he may know literature or, speaking in student jargon, how much theory he may have crammed in, if he has not achieved this internal peace and order he will not be able to fulfill his role as an ideologist well.

/Question/ Let us proceed from these reflections, which are in part theoretical and in part general, to our Polish reality. Can ideology help us, for example, to overcome the crisis?

/Answer/ A good point of departure here may be Prof Adam Schaff and the well-known thesis which he formulated within the columns of the weekly TU I TERAZ under the title: "A Crisis of Marxism Or Marxists?" The question was, no doubt, formulated in a capitulating manner. Naturally, the answer is that we are dealing with a crisis of Marxists. However, the attractive quality of this thesis is downright dangerous due to its superficiality.

According to Prof Schaff, the Marxist crisis denotes the failure of that which we call genuine socialism. I repeat that this is a thesis which, mildly speaking, is very misleading. It should be kept in mind that this thesis was placed in a certain historical context. Schaff states that authority was assumed too soon, that the conditions for the triumph of the socialist revolution were not fulfilled and that, for example, the cult of the individual is not a matter of these or other characteristic traits of Stalin but the inevitable consequence of the first fact--the immaturity of social conditions. In his book COMMUNISM AT THE CROSSROADS, Schaff claims that in about 20 years, the socialist revolution will conquer the West and that this is when everything will fall in order and in accordance with Marx's theory.

However, this type of reasoning overlooks the elementary fact that today the world is divided and that socialist countries are currently the object of sharp attacks from the developed capitalist countries--countries which are under the rule of the bourgeoisie which threatens genuinely socialist countries with armed conflict. They call for outright anticommunist crusades, escalate the arms race and threaten the deployment of new missiles. The prospect of war will be much more real in 1984 than in 1983 or at any other time if we do not succeed in counteracting it effectively. Thus, currently the fundamental question is what to do in order to prevent this threat of war. Prof Schaff completely overlooks these fundamental political parameters of the present-day situation. He poses seemingly abstract questions while at the same time giving totally nonabstract answers because they are answers which weaken the power of genuine socialism, including that of People's Poland. He denies socialist countries any and all merit even that which is undisputed by objective world opinion, namely the role played by the first socialist nation in crushing fascism. Ignoring all of this and claiming that the countries of real socialism have nothing in common with socialism constitutes a political game which cannot but bring specific consequences. Speaking in the most general terms, it is not at all certain whether it will be possible to pose such seemingly academic questions in a few years because, for example, of the aforementioned threat of war.

/Question/ Over and above all that, countries of real socialism simply do exist. This is a social fact which cannot be negated in any way whatsoever.

/Answer/ That's just it--these countries do exist. And if they did have this quality which Schaff attributes to them, i.e., the lack of socialist traits, then undoubtedly they would not be the object of such a heated attack on the part of the political adversary. After all, in order to control its position



in its own country, the bourgeoisie does not need a political ally but a specter; it is in outright need of a ghastly image of the countries in which socialism is a reality, that everything is wrong and inhumane here. He writes about this more extensively in an article which should appear at the beginning of September in ZYCIE LITERACKIE.

There is another assertion made by Schaff which is equally important, namely, that power should not have been assumed, which is based on and supported by appropriate quotes from the works of young Marx. The fact that Schaff cites Alfred Lamp in this case attests to the specific way in which he interprets the fundamental propaganda document of Polish communists at the moment when the Polish Army was being organized and preparations were being made for liberating the country. In that case, it is worth recalling that both Marx and Engels foresaw the possibility (in the preface to the Russian edition of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO of 1882) that a world revolution would start with the outbreak of a revolution in Russia. And this Russian revolution would, so to say, mark the signal for insurrection in the West.

/Question/ And this is exactly what happened.

/Answer/ Therefore, a serious theoretical and political question ought to be posed as follows: What caused the proletarian revolutions in the West (Germany, Austria, etc.) to collapse in 1919? It is a known fact that they collapsed in those countries in which the system of political power turned out to be disadvantageous to the proletariat in the long term. Nothing substantial can be said with regard to the matters brought up by Schaff until there is a sensible answer to the question of why the revolutions in the West collapsed and what the subsequent political consequences of this fact were. What should have been done then in Russia, for example? Hand over the power? To whom? This question is not posed either. What course would the political evolution of Europe have taken if in 1917 the Russian proletariat had turned over power to the bourgeoisie or the lower middle-classes? In what way would the bourgeoisie have later used a factor such as fascism which so drastically constrained the workers class? And where would be the forces which could block it and subsequently crush it? What course would the history of our continent and that of the entire world have taken?

Such questions and similar ones abound and they are not intellectual fun games, for we ought never to forget that fascism was built in a, so to speak, spontaneous manner on the logic of the behavior of Western countries.

And what is totally reckless is Schaff's argument that power ought not to have been assumed in countries of people's democracy.

/Question/ What would that have meant in the political reality of those years?

/Answer/ What would it mean? There are two possibilities here. First, the Soviet Army ends the war in 1944 on the Bug front. This, I should think, does not merit discussion. Second, after crushing fascism, Soviet Russia retreats to the Bug front line leaving the implementation of the Yalta agreements, including the problem of rebuilding the German nation, to its Western allies.

How would the international balance of forces look today? What would Poland's situation have been if, as is the case today, an anticommunist crusade had taken to arms? Unfortunately, Prof Schaff does not ask himself these questions.

/Question/ Prof Adam Schaff, therefore, does not take into account the realities of that time, of 1944, or the realities of today. I believe that this is the basic reproach which can be made against him.

/Answer/ My main charge is that Prof Schaff promises us that under conditions of failure we can, despite all, save one thing, the value of our ideology, by sacrificing in exchange social practice in its entirety--of course, I do not agree with this thesis. Literally, we should protect the value of Marxism by sacrificing the social practice of countries which have true socialism. This is something downright horrendous. After all, it is impossible to pretend that the existence of socialist countries does not have political, economic and moral significance for the entire world. The fact alone that socialism exists has brought on a change in the position of the workers class in capitalist countries. Today, the position of the workers class in England, France, West Germany and America is diametrically opposed to that of a few decades ago. It is impossible not to notice the indirect as well as direct influence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on this state of affairs. As a result of these historical events to which reference was made, the relationship of power between colonizing countries and former colonial countries has also changed.

/Question/ What prompts Prof A. Schaff, who is, after all, a party comrade, to formulate these and not other opinions, if we are to discount some sort of foolish trifling?

/Answer/ I will say forthrightly: Comrade Schaff should answer your question himself. I, too, would be interested to hear what reasons could be so important as to prompt one to sacrifice practice for the price of saving theory. Personally, I can only assume at best, while at the same time accepting an optimistic state of affairs, that we are dealing here with a kind of egocentrism whereby personal prestige and the self-image of an ideologist who practices ideological creativity is placed higher than the causes for which this ideology appeared and became knowns. We have a case here which may be classified as a phenomenon from within the realm of the psychology of a creator, an artist. It is a well-known fact that for an artist there is no greater problem than another artist. And it is possible that this mentality of the artist-creator--and I repeat that I would like to presume that this is not a political matter but rather one of psychology--could have been a determining factor in the presentation of such an improbable political construction. Because I have no doubt whatsoever that this construction is anticommunist in its political significance irrespective of all intentions, motives and determining factors which fall into the category of an artist's nature, a creative person's mentality, etc.

/Question/ What is the attitude of young people toward the issues raised here, toward Marxism and the conflicts of our era?

/Answer/ For me as one who occupies himself professionally with ideology, two phenomena in particular are comforting. For a year and a half now, we have been

observing marked interest in our ideology on the part of young people. I am saying this on the basis of various personal contacts, whether during sessions at youth camps or during training courses. The questions asked continue to be sharp-edged, difficult and often brutally attack reality. However, these questions demonstrate a significant change in the attitude of youth toward Marxism and toward that which is happening in Poland and in the world.

A second phenomenon which is even more positive is that our department publishes various popular political brochures and collections of works, and these booklets are being bought by, above all, young readers.

As far as the attractiveness of our ideology for the young generation is concerned, about which we have already spoken several times, the following is worth noting: The West has promised the young generation new theoretical revelations nearly every season. These have turned out to be subsequent theoretical bombs which, first of all, were to prove that Marxism is obsolete and second, to solve in a decided manner the most important problems of the time.

/Question/ The collapse of Marxism has been prophesied for over 100 years.

/Answer/ Yes, However, all of a sudden all these popular solutions have been discarded and an aggravated ideology of the anticommunist-crusade type has been adopted. What does this indicate? This proves the powerlessness of these doctrines, ease in manipulation and the lack of any kind of principles. As can be seen, these doctrines have a short life span while Marxism marches on step by step and not on the basis of linear progress, since it has experienced various jolts. But despite these periodic setbacks it continues uninterruptedly through time and space. The influence of Marxism on present-day political and social doctrines is quite visible even if on the social thought of the Catholic Church. It suffices to mention here, by way of example, the social encyclicals of the last two popes. The young generation should give this some thought as well.

All of this has already come and gone: the ultimate collapse of Marxism which was trumpeted numerous times--for the third time during my lifetime--as well as the loud tooting about the unreformability of Marxism. All of this proves, so to say metaphorically, that despite everything Marxism is alive and well, that it is of sound health and that such health will continue in the future as well. And most importantly, that it maintains its ability to explain and change the world. There is no other present-day system which would possess the two aforementioned attributes: the ability to explain and transform the world. Only Marxism-Leninism has this quality.

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ROMANIA

FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN ANDREI DELIVERS UNGA SPEECH 27 SEP

AU031440 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 30 Sep 83 p 6

[Speech by Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei delivered at the 27 September UNGA Session in New York]

[Text] The current UNGA session is taking place at a time when complex and controversial international problems have aggravated the world situation. The nations of the world are profoundly concerned about the galloping escalation of the arms race--primarily the nuclear arms race--by the perpetuation of conflicts and hotbeds of tension and the emergence of new ones, and by the deepening gap between rich and poor countries.

Life and realities indicate that political reason and realism and the spirit of cooperation are being increasingly replaced by mistrust, tension and increasing confrontation. Artificial factors are being exacerbated and ideological differences, stemming from differences of social-political systems, are being transplanted to the plane of interstate relations; certain local conflicts have been made the subject of dispute between opposed blocs, and the struggle for areas of influence and spheres of domination is intensifying.

It can be stated that at present the policy of peaceful coexistence, unanimously accepted by all the nations as the only alternative to conflagration, is being undermined in the international arena.

In view of this reality, which is creating an oppressive international atmosphere and seriously threatens the sovereignty and freedom of many nations, it is more than ever necessary to take resolute steps against the policy of force and dictate, to halt the escalation of confrontation, to resume the policy of cooperation, detente and peace, and to establish new interstate relations, based on full equality of rights, strict respect of national independence and sovereignty by all states and in all circumstances, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and the right of each people to independently decide on their fate.

We are convinced that in the international confrontation between these diametrically opposed trends--the trend toward domination, aggression and dictate, on the one hand, and the legitimate desire and aspiration of the immense majority of states for independence, freedom and peace on the other--and the policy of

reason, of right against might, and of international understanding and security can and must triumph. In view of the principle of responsibility for mankind's fate and for the sacred right of the nations to existence, life, freedom and peace, all the states have a great obligation to act in a constructive spirit of cooperation, which should be reflected in the debates, conclusions and resolutions of the General Assembly at this session; they have the obligation to effectively contribute to halting the trend toward confrontation, radically improving the international climate, and resolving mankind's grave and complex problems in keeping with the interests of the nations.

Proceeding on the basis of the basic and irreversible options of the Romanian people and from their aspiration for peace and cooperation, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, stated: "We believe that specific measures should be taken now to ease international tension, to resume the policy of detente, and to rule out actions that can aggravate the international situation; all the states must act with great responsibility to their own people and to the general cause of international peace and security."

It is not to be denied that since the previous General Assembly session the intensified arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, has impaired the international situation and increased the danger of war, has increased interstate tension and deepened the international economic crisis.

A lucid analysis of the current situation and UN documents, too, highlight an alarming reality, namely that the current stage of the arms race and the stockpiles of weapons of all types, especially nuclear ones, are threatening the very existence of our civilization and life on earth.

In these circumstances, the fundamental problem of our era is to rule out war and ensure peace, to halt the arms race and begin disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to achieve a military balance not by stockpiling additional weapons, but by cutting back on existing ones as much as possible.

The greatest amounts of weaponry, including nuclear arms, are stockpiled in Europe; it is in Europe that the two opposed military blocs, established, as is known, during the "cold war" period, are pitted against each other and feed mistrust and confrontation. This situation requires energetic and consistent actions to eliminate the bloc policy and curb the military activities of the two blocs, to reduce the geographical area of military contest; to free as many areas as possible from the nuclear threat, and to achieve the most extensive possible military disengagement.

Currently, the crucial problem for Europe is the danger of deployment this year of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles, which would intensify the arms race, increase the threat of war, primarily nuclear war, and threaten the existence of all the European nations and of all human civilization.

Romania believes that nothing can justify the acceptance of new nuclear missiles as a fait accompli; on the contrary, everything possible should be done to prevent this very grave step as long as it is still possible to do so and before it is too late. The states and governments which allow missiles on their territory assume a great responsibility for their own people and for all mankind.

Romania believes that through renewed efforts, negotiations carried out in a spirit of cooperation, and responsible actions on both sides it is possible to achieve appropriate agreements to halt the deployment of additional missiles and to remove and destroy the existing ones.

Proceeding precisely from this major requirement, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu recently sent messages to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Yuriy Andropov and to U.S. President Ronald Reagan requesting that everything possible be done to prevent the deployment of new nuclear weapons.

If by the end of this year negotiations do not bring positive results, Romania suggests that an agreement be reached on delaying the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles at least until the end of 1984 and beginning of 1985, while negotiations continue. During this period the USSR should supply guarantees, along the line of its previous statements, that it will halt the deployment of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles and their modernization, and will unilaterally remove some of its missiles in the European part of the USSR. At the same time, if no such agreement is reached, Romania's president suggests that at the least intermediate-range missiles should not be deployed on the territory of the FRG, GDR, CSSR and other states, as an intermediate measure until a final agreement is achieved at the Geneva negotiations.

In view of the fact that the object of Soviet-American negotiations concerns the security and life of all European nations, we believe that the other European states should also participate in some form in these negotiations, or that direct negotiations should begin among the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on the problem of intermediate-range nuclear weapons.

Generally speaking, we believe that since the vital interests of peace and security of all the nations and their very life are involved, all the states have a right and an obligation to make their voice heard and to contribute to efforts to halt the arms race and implement specific measures for general and primarily nuclear disarmament. Consequently, we believe that all the states are dutybound, by virtue of their obligations under the UN Charter, to responsibly cooperate toward efficiently capitalizing on the opportunities offered by the United Nations and the Geneva Disarmament Committee to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament.

Now more than ever before everything possible must be done to halt the arms policy and to safeguard the vital right of people and nations to life, independence and peace. This requires resolute efforts to achieve concrete and significant steps toward nuclear disarmament without delay, particularly by halting the production of nuclear weapons and gradually reducing existing stockpiles until their final elimination, by freezing the development and deployment of new types and systems of means of mass destruction, and by completely banning all nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

The intensification of the arms race constitutes a major factor of the deepening international economic crisis; it fans the war propaganda, generates an insecurity psychosis among the masses, and arouses mistrust and suspicion in international life. The peoples must be told the truth about the fact that nuclear arms are weapons of death and destruction and not weapons of peace and



security, and that we must not wait until they are wielded, because once that happens it will be too late. We must not ignore the fact that there could always be some irresponsible people to pull the trigger and that an accident may unleash the nuclear destruction of mankind.

In view of the fact that the year by year increases in military spending, the increases in arms stockpiles of all types, at a geometric rate, and the deployment of new nuclear missiles harm the interests of all countries and in fact cripple the funds they would otherwise earmark for social needs, science, education, art and culture, and environmental protection, Romania firmly advocates cutbacks in military spending.

It is an axiomatic truth that the speed of the arms race gravely pollutes the international climate and plunges mankind into a genuine nightmare. Faced with a choice between life or nuclear holocaust, the European nations, like those on the other continents, are increasingly joining the struggle for disarmament and peace. Now, before it is too late, millions upon millions of people of all ages, philosophical and religious convictions are participating in impressive peace movements, saying a resolute NO to nuclear arms, and striving to curb the arms race. To ignore the will of the peoples and the strong voice of public opinion means to run against the course of history and reason and to poison the international atmosphere.

In order to consolidate international peace and security, efficient measures must be devised and implemented to enhance confidence among states to effect nuclear and conventional disarmament, and to substantially cut back arms and troops. While aware of the special importance and responsibility of the heavily armed countries which hold nuclear arsenals, we believe that all the states that want to directly participate in disarmament negotiations should be given an opportunity to voice their views and that their will and aspirations should not be ignored.

In the view of the Romanian Government, measures to halt the arms race and effect disarmament should be implemented amid conditions of mutual trust and equal security; a military balance should be achieved at the lowest possible level and under a strict international control of a nature to guarantee fulfillment to the letter of all the obligations assumed by each state.

Proceeding from that concept, Romania has advocated and continues to resolutely advocate the establishment at the United Nations of an international body invested with the right to control and inspect the precise implementation of measures agreed upon to halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament.

As a European country that has been consistently militating for security and cooperation on the continent, Romania hailed the results of the Madrid conference, which highlighted the axiomatic truth that even amid complex and difficult international conditions there is no problem, however complex, that cannot be resolved through negotiations when the sides show political reasonableness, a constructive spirit, and a desire to cooperate, and when they proceed on the basis of the major interests of the nations, of peace and security for the entire world.

We view as very positive the fact that the Madrid conference arrived at a consensus on the matter of convening a conference on confidence-building, security and cooperation in Europe, and that it agreed on the organization of a series of meetings, thus ensuring the continuity of the process initiated in Helsinki.

What is now important is to continue and consolidate the results obtained with a view to promoting security and developing cooperation in Europe. Along this line, Romania suggested direct negotiations among the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on freezing and reducing military spending on disarmament, and on eliminating the threat of war. In view of the fact that these states possess a good part of the total weapons and arms budgets, an agreement among the states belonging to the two military alliances would be of a great importance for general disarmament. As far as it is concerned, Romania has decided to freeze its military budget at the level of 1982 until 1985.

The establishment of denuclearized areas in various parts of the world can also make an important contribution to military disengagement and to enhancing security and interstate confidence. Along this line, Romania advanced proposals on turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation free of nuclear arms and of foreign troops and military bases.

The course of events demonstrates that the anachronistic and profoundly dangerous policy of the use and the threat to use force in interstate relations, pressure, and interference in internal affairs constitutes a source of tension, conflict, and upheavals in international life; it is the motivating factor for the arms race and generates genuine attacks against peace, security and national progress, and against the vital rights and aspirations of the peoples.

The supreme interests of the peoples and of international peace and security require that the policy of the use and threat of force be resolutely excluded in all its forms, that armed conflicts and actions be stopped, and that all interstate disputes be settled solely through peaceful means and negotiations.

In the spirit of this principled position, Romania believes that international bodies, primarily the United Nations, should play a more active role and make a more effective contribution to initiate and accelerate negotiated solutions to conflicts and tension.

The fact that the agenda of the General Assembly features an item on the peaceful solution of differences among states and the fact that the previous session adopted by consensus a declaration on the peaceful settlement of international differences constitute of course important positive steps that verify the topicality of efforts along this line and that imply resolute commitment by all UN member states to further cooperate to attain that major objective.

Together with other states Romania sponsored a detailed proposal at the present General Assembly session on the establishment at the United Nations of a special body for good offices, mediation and conciliation which should act to prevent the emergence of new armed conflicts and to devise peaceful, negotiated solutions to conflicts and other problems among states.



In the same desire to contribute to consolidating peace and security at a regional and international level by developing relations of cooperation, mutual respect, and understanding, Romania launched an initiative aiming at strengthening good neighborliness. The General Assembly debates to date have created conditions for formulating a concept of good neighborliness and for agreeing on the principles, ways and means of implementing such a concept in all relations among states.

Romania is profoundly concerned about the persistence of grave hotbeds of tension and conflicts in various parts of the world. Particular anxiety is caused by the situation in the long-suffering area of the Middle East.

The conflict in that area, including the disturbing situation in Lebanon, must be solved on the basis of the central and priority problem of Palestinian rights. Thus, negotiations must begin as soon as possible and, as is known, Romania is in favor of an international conference, under UN aegis and with the participation of the parties concerned including the PLO, the USSR, and the United States, with a view to achieving a comprehensive, lasting and just settlement of the Middle East conflict. Such a settlement implies the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war, a solution to the Palestinian problem based on that people's right to self-determination and independent statehood, and guaranteed independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity for all the states in the area.

At the same time we speak out for the ceasefire in Lebanon, for national reconciliation, for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and for the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

I want to take this opportunity to reassert at this forum Romania's solidarity with and active support for the position and initiatives of the DPRK and for its efforts to achieve the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

In the spirit of Romania's traditional policy of support for national struggles for freedom and independence, I want to renew the Romanian people's and state's militant solidarity with the independence struggle of the Namibian people, on the basis of the UN resolutions. We also speak out for abolishing apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and for measures designed to make the Pretoria authorities end their aggressive actions against neighborly states.

The international economic situation, marked by a deepening economic crisis, causes great disturbances in commercial relations and economic cooperation among states, has negative repercussions on all the states, in particular, however, on the developing countries, and contributes to perpetuating and deepening the gaps between rich and poor countries.

Of particular concern are the trends to expand protectionism and discriminatory practices, the growing disproportion between the price of raw materials and that of industrial products, the increasingly heavy burden of foreign debt on developing countries, the high interest rates on credits, the reduced aid programs, and lack of access to modern technology.

In view of the ever closer interdependence between rich and poor countries, economic recovery in developed countries is not sufficient to overcome the economic crisis; for that, the economic development process in developing countries must be revitalized and conditions must be ensured for those countries to regain their dynamic role in world economics and in increasing international trade.

In Romania's view and that of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the negative situation in international economy and especially the seriousness of the economic condition of the developing countries urgently require the establishment of genuine cooperation among developed and developing countries, based on principles of equality and equity, which should ensure a rapid and general economic recovery, the resumption of the development process in the developing countries, and genuine progress toward the establishment of a new and more just international economic order in keeping with the interests of all nations. This is a fundamental condition both for ensuring general economic stability, and for improving the international political climate.

I want to stress particularly the gravity of the foreign debts of the developing countries to the developed ones, which has become a basic and general problem; solving this problem is decisive both for halting the deterioration of the situation of the developing countries, and for world economic stability. We believe that the debts of the poorest countries should be cancelled, while the debts of the other developing countries should be reduced in proportion to their per capita national income and rescheduled free of interest or at a low interest rate and for a long term. As an intermediate measure one could consider deferring the foreign debt of developing countries for a 2-3 year period, free of interest or at a low interest rate, while negotiations continue at a conference of debtor and creditor countries until adequate solutions are found.

One of the conditions for resuming the development process in developing countries--without which there can be no lasting and general recovery--is to ensure a massive influx of financial resources from the developed to the developing countries; that should be made possible primarily by reducing military spending by about 10-15 percent annually.

North-South negotiations--including those at the Sixth UNCTAD Session this year--have so far failed to yield significant results. In order to overcome the economic crisis and resume the development process in the developing countries it is urgently necessary to open a genuine international economic dialogue between those countries and the developed ones.

In order to facilitate such a dialogue, a mechanism should be established at the United Nations, open to all UN members, to examine the major economic problems facing the international community in the areas of raw materials, energy, trade, the foreign debt of developing countries, and monetary-financial matters.

In any event, an appropriate venue of negotiations should be agreed upon on the basis of the experience of other complex international negotiations such as the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea; negotiations should then begin immediately on major economic issues with a view to devising unanimously acceptable solutions and thus improving the world economy on a lasting basis, eliminating underdevelopment, and establishing a new world economic order.

One of the problems that will be examined at the current session of the General Assembly is, as is known, that of the brain drain from developing countries. The group of UNCTAD experts established on the basis of Resolution 37/307 of the "Group of 77" has begun activities and is scheduled to hold at least two more meetings. We believe that UNCTAD should continue its efforts to draw up--with the participation of all countries--a code of principles, guidelines, and norms concerning the brain drain, and an integrated program of action in this area, designed to eliminate the nefarious consequences of this phenomenon on the developing countries.

On the eve of the International Youth Year scheduled to take place in 1985 under the motto "Participation, Development, Peace," the problems concerning the new generation are increasingly claiming the attention of states and of international public opinion. This reality must feature in the concerns, debates and resolutions of the current General Assembly session.

The five regional meetings devoted to the International Youth Year held in 1983, including the European meeting that Romania had the privilege of hosting at Costinesti, marked a new stage within the framework of preparations for that event.

The program of measures and activities that is to be implemented before and during the International Youth Year, additional recommendations concerning its implementation, and the reports of the five regional meetings submitted to the attention of the current General Assembly meeting, contain both national measures and actions designed to strengthen international cooperation aimed at solving the current specific problems of the new generation. They are complemented by other valuable proposals and suggestions advanced by members of the General Assembly in the Consultative Committee for the International Youth Year, at regional meetings, and in other forums, that deserve to be further examined with great care and receptivity.

It is up to the General Assembly to adopt the necessary measures required to intensify preparations for the International Youth Year and to appropriately mark this important international event under UN aegis, so that the problems of the new generation are assured continuity within the UN structures and are dealt with in proportion to the importance of the young generation in today's and tomorrow's world.

Life and realities demonstrate that the problem of increasing the UN role and of efficiently capitalizing on the opportunities it offers for solving mankind's major problems has never been so urgent and so topical. At this time of cross-roads for all mankind, solving the complex international problems requires more than ever the active and equal participation of all the states, regardless of

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social system or size, primarily of the small and medium-sized countries and of developing and nonaligned states which make up the large majority of world nations.

We believe that the time has come to thoroughly examine specific means of ensuring the implementation of the fundamental objectives of the UN Charter through the United Nations. By that we mean primarily that proposals designed to substantially improve the UN activities, to further democratize its bodies, structures, and functions, and to enhance the effectiveness of the UN and adapt it to the needs and realities and requirements of the contemporary world should be carefully examined.

We believe that the mandate of the Special Committee for the UN Charter and for Increasing its Role should be simplified and more precisely defined, so that it can focus on major proposals and by consensus present to the General Assembly specific proposals for improving the effectiveness and contribution of the United Nations to ensuring and consolidating international peace and security.

The world nations, profoundly concerned about the complex evolution of the international situation, are confidently looking to the United Nations and hopefully expecting the results of the current General Assembly session. We must act even more resolutely to change the course of international events and to establish a new policy, permitting all the nations to attain their aspirations for a better and more just life and for international peace and cooperation. In this spirit, Romania is carrying out vast international activities, is striving to develop relations with all socialist countries, primarily with our neighbors, and is expanding its relations with the developing, nonaligned, and other states, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

I want to reaffirm the determination of the Romanian delegation to contribute, together with the other delegations, to devising practical and effective solutions for the numerous and important items of the session agenda, so that, through joint efforts and a constructive spirit of cooperation, we can make reason and a policy of understanding, detente, security and peace, and respect for the national independence of all peoples triumph.

CSO: 2700/3

RADULOVIC DISCUSSES SHORTCOMINGS IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 83 pp 4-8

[Interview with Dr Petar Radulovic, counselor for the political system in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and author of "Odgovornost" (Responsibility), by Dragos Ivanovic: "Certain Changes in the System Were Made To Strengthen the Power of Individuals"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The term "responsibility" is understood and interpreted in different ways. I would say: responsibility is a mirror of social relations, says Dr Petar Radulovic. It is the best indication of how legality is being achieved and to what extent the rights and freedoms of individuals are guaranteed. This means that responsibility is in its importance and essence a barometer of the law and morality of every social community; ultimately the value of a social movement is measured by it.

[Question] Why is it that responsibility is such a topical subject with us right now?

[Answer] Various negative phenomena have come about in our construction of a socialist self-managing society, and they have imposed the issue of responsibility as a very acute social problem.

[Question] What impact has social inequities had on application of responsibility?

[Answer] If there is poverty and people who are not cared for on one hand in society, and wealth and a luxurious life on the other, various negative phenomena are inevitably engendered which cause strained social relations. Objectionable occupations and patterns of behavior inevitably arise--prostitution, begging, gambling, crime, bribes, corruption, careerism and an easy life without work, and other socially harmful phenomena. These are all products of bureaucratization and various forms of immorality in society. In such a situation self-styled protectors of the people emerge, certain figures take on a false greatness and authority, boasting that they have done a great deal, that they can do everything, when in actuality they are ordinary double-dealers and thieves.

[Question] The roots, then, lie in abuses?

[Answer] Responsibility presupposes a well-organized society, the existence of norms and institutions which are a barrier to abuses, especially to abuses and privatization power. This also presupposes a corresponding social climate which facilitates consistent application of the principle of responsibility, and that equally to all. But responsibility must not be viewed as an expression of a totalitarian society in which the individual is entirely subject to social control.

[Question] When you mention the "social climate," are you thinking of "the public"?

[Answer] Public opinion is very important since it has a strong influence on application of the principle of responsibility. If it is able to come to full expression, the public eliminates to a considerable extent the danger of abuses and privatization of power as well as that of the rule of individuals and groups that is not limited in time. How much the public will know about all important social events depends on how democratic are the mass media (the press, radio and television), on their freedom and objectivity. The degree of influence of public opinion is a principal indicator of democratization of a social system.

[Question] And laws? How much influence can they have?

[Answer] Laws themselves and government bodies and agencies which apply them are not adequate to perfect the system of responsibility and its consistent application. The principle of removability of individuals in official position and a time limit on tenure has an important role. The term "removability" has a both narrow and broad meaning. In its narrow sense it signifies removal of individuals or of an entire collective body before expiration of its term of office, for example, removal of a minister or a government, recall of a deputy, dissolving parliament before the end of the term of office. Its broader meaning has to do with procedure for replacement of people, a time limit on the administration of government by the same individuals (rotation). This principle has been adopted in several countries with a democratic tradition, since it has been shown that the longer the same people hold power, the more they lose the sense of responsibility.

[Question] Yet one often hears the opinion that our penalties are both mild and inadequate.

[Answer] Such opinions are mistaken. I would assert that we are the world leaders in the number of penalties prescribed. Fortunately, they are not invoked in such great numbers. I would mention for sake of illustration the most severe penalty. Earlier (before 1 July 1977) the death penalty could be pronounced in 46 cases in the uniform criminal legislation, while now there are 60 possible cases in the federal law and 4 to 6 cases in republic and provincial legislation. Then there are about 3,500 economic offenses. The number of misdemeanors prescribed cannot even be ascertained, but it is certain that it exceeds 10,000.

The number of bodies, agencies and organizations exercising government functions is also too great. Aside from the conventional arms of the state--jurisprudence, administration, various inspectorates (in all, there are 32 types of inspectorates!), there are the constitutional courts, social defenders of self-management law, courts of associated labor and the Social Accounting Service. All these bodies, agencies and organizations, which have large staffs, are involved in achieving legality and in applying responsibility. To this we should add the delegate assemblies and self-managing bodies which are also concerned about lawfulness. Sociopolitical organizations, which are very numerous both in their membership and in the number of their forums, have a considerable influence on development of social relations.

Accordingly, the problem does not lie in the lack of penalties and institutions, but in the gap between the principles and policy which have been asserted, the legislation which has been established, on the one hand, and real life and behavior on the other.

[Question] Might it be said that there has been a flood of legislation?

[Answer] The existence of a large number of laws and other enactments and their frequent amendment have an adverse effect on people's legal certainty and on constitutionality and legality. There are two types of danger in this flood of legislation. The first is that it is difficult to get one's bearings in it even for superb lawyers, much less uneducated people. Second, this gives rise to an exaggerated formalism; among other things it has an adverse effect on exercise of rights by the working people and citizens and on the work of collegial bodies (workers' councils, delegate assemblies ...).

Three years ago I established on the basis of a survey I did that we have 3.3 million different enactments. The largest number is of self-management accords and social compacts--about 2 million; general self-management acts (by-laws, regulations, etc.)--about 1.2 million; and about 100,000 government enactments. Certain current surveys, which are partial, show that the number of enactments has already climbed to 7 million!

[Question] Is our legality at least in approximate accord with that scale of normativism?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we cannot boast of either constitutionality or legality. I will mention only two well-known examples--the right to work and moral-and-political suitability. This notorious condition, moral-and-political suitability, was first introduced in the field of education. It quickly passed from one law to others and into numerous general self-management acts. The untenability of this qualifying condition has been pointed out many times from the standpoint of both law and morality. Nevertheless, it has been retained for some 10 years and has caused quite a bit of damage to our country's reputation, since it is contrary to certain international acts which our government itself has adopted. At present, although it has been dropped from the law, it still exists in self-management regulations. This is a textbook example of a violation of constitutionality and legality.



[Question] To what extent are we actually equal before the law?

[Answer] Legality must be viewed as a whole, from the standpoint of the fit between legislation and the legal order and equality in the application of statutes to all individuals and other legal entities, and not, as some do, according to the number of persons punished for various offenses. I might cite quite a few examples of differing application of laws, but I will mention only the investigation of the origin of property. It is well known that many people have been passed over and that the laws have been applied to a small number of people, mainly craftsmen and tradesmen and retired people.

[Question] How has responsibility of the government been regulated in law? At the end of 1981 the issue of responsibility of the Federal Executive Council was raised, and recently, in early July, resignation was mentioned.

[Answer] The members of the government are responsible for their work and should render accounts to the SFRY Assembly. The Assembly exercises oversight as to the conduct of policy and checks performance of what was agreed on and what lies in the jurisdiction of the government. A certain number of delegates, through a procedure regulated in detail by the parliamentary rules, can request debate of responsibility and can put a question of confidence in the government.

[Question] How many federal officeholders and deputies have submitted resignations?

[Answer] As far as I know, resignations have been submitted only by Dr. Nikola Miljanic, who at that time was vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council, and Sredoje Urosevic, who was at the time a deputy of the Federal Assembly. This was some 10 years ago. Resignation is a moral act, the decision of a man who has a sense of responsibility when for various reasons he is unable to perform his duties satisfactorily.

[Question] How about resignation and the bureaucratic mentality?

[Answer] The bureaucracy is not satisfied with the monopoly of power, but wants at all costs to also secure an ideological monopoly and thereby subordination of both objective truth and scientific knowledge to its own interest and to its bureaucratic will. Marx determinedly pointed to the Jesuitical character of the bureaucratic "truth of authority" which is manifested in all ages and in all latitudes wherever the bureaucratic hierarchy has the last word.

For a long time now the power of the bureaucracy has been felt in our government bodies and agencies, in self-management and in sociopolitical organizations; to be sure, everyone renounces this social evil, everyone is declared to be against bureaucracy, but in practice they do not give up the positions that have been gained, they fight convulsively for official positions regardless of their abilities and moral attributes.

[Question] And the consequences?



[Answer] Many people are not even called to responsibility for various oversights, abuses and privatization of public property, or it all ends up in a transfer to another position, sometimes even a more responsible one. Insistence on the slogan "We Are All Responsible" consciously or unconsciously conceals and even negates responsibility.

I am firmly convinced that the accumulated problems (overindebtedness, unemployment and exaggerated inflation) are mainly the consequence of irresponsibility. It is because of irresponsibility that the real struggle for official position came about. All changes in organization considerably increased the number of supervisory job slots and administrative staff. Many people would even take the post of minister for atomic physics (if such a position existed) though they know nothing whatsoever about it. That kind of behavior, which has been going on for years, is making people apathetic and causing passive resistance.

We cannot do without changes in law and the economy and a revolution in the field of morality, since otherwise there is no social progress. This presupposes taking power away from many people preoccupied with power and holding on to positions they have acquired. Able people have to be chosen who also have reliable moral attributes.

[Question] The failures, however, do not date only from yesterday.

[Answer] Certain excellent economists say that our well-known 1965 economic reform caused a material loss of some thousands of billions of dinars. No one has yet denied those figures, which have incidentally been published. An analysis should have been made of the results achieved, they should have been announced in public, but nothing of the kind was done. That reform was later abandoned, quietly and without a word, and new events thrust it into oblivion.

Even in education we have had many failures. It is well known that higher education is oversized and out of line with society's real needs. And for a rather long time our country has been allocating about 6 to 6.5 percent of the national income to education. No one has ever specifically criticized either this reform or the others that have failed.

[Question] What has altered introduction of the principle of collective decisionmaking and responsibility?

[Answer] Collective work presupposes active participation of all members and of every individual in the collective body. This presupposes a good familiarity with the situation and problems, but also equal and conscientious participation in decisionmaking, without fear and pressure of powerful individuals and groups. A different kind of practice is widespread in our country, unfortunately: voting, or, more accurately, the raising of hands in various collegial bodies, is regarded only as a formality and a cover.

Responsibility presupposes personal (individual) accountability. This is the rule for application of all types of legal liability (criminal, for misdemeanors, etc.). In exceptional cases collective or joint accountability is

applied, and that mainly as political accountability (recall, removal from office, and in our system the exceptional dissolution of bodies of management). Collective accountability is moral and political, but only in exceptional cases is legal accountability invoked, for example, the criminal accountability of bodies of management, but even then guilt is established separately.

[Question] What are your observations concerning the 1-year term of office?

[Answer] I am convinced that the 1-year term of office is quite suitable for sociopolitical positions, but when it comes to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, then under present conditions it is not sufficient. Large problems are cropping up, especially in the opstinas, there is no logic in having the opstina governments (and the governments of sociopolitical communities at a higher level and other supervisory personnel in the administration and economy) to have a 4-year term of office, but the president of an assembly 1 year. That is why able men are reluctant to accept the position of opstina president for a period of 1 year, and the present situation can in quite a few cases be referred to as rule by opstina executive agencies.

[Question] This also raises the issue of the real potential effect of many changes in the system.

[Answer] We have too often changed the forms, but not the actual social relations. There was excessive confidence that various meetings, including congresses of the LCY and the trade unions, would by and large resolve various social problems with stands taken unanimously. We have overestimated laws and institutions. In actuality very scanty responses have been given and are still being given to complicated and very complicated social relations. Even certain changes in the system have been made in order to strengthen the power of individuals and very small groups. For example, the introduction of indirect elections in 1968 made it possible for some people to be perpetual deputies, and the delegate system, which basically was well conceived, in practice bypasses the voters in many respects, and it also needs to be changed. An indispensable need is arising for optimum organization of society and the economy to get rid of excessive normativism and also the great burden of administration and the obsession with subordination (sefomanija). For a long time now we have been moving in this respect in the opposite direction from the proclaimed goals--construction of a self-managing society.

[Question] When people talk about responsibility, there are also certain dark sides of personnel policy that cannot be evaded.

[Answer] The cumbersome administrative apparatus is constantly being multiplied and strengthened by the privatization of personnel policy. Instead of socializing policy and creating true social values on the basis of work and moral attributes, an army of professional managers is recruited regardless of their ability and behavior. They are privileged in many respects. Their personal incomes, which are better called salaries, and they are rather high, are fixed outside of the procedure of self-management. Housing is provided for them in a similar way, and they are assigned to higher positions.

According to the data in a doctoral dissertation done 4 years ago, our political personnel, overt and covert, numbered about 200,000.

[Question] It is likely that personnel of this kind have also brought the institutions themselves into a delicate position?

[Answer] Many institutions are in a position of not being able to meet their tasks because of the poor quality of their personnel. For example, the constitutional courts in all countries occupy a very prestigious place with respect to the quality of their membership. In many countries very strict qualifying conditions have been prescribed for the judges of the constitutional court, but in our country there are judges of constitutional courts who could not be elected even to the judgeship in an opstina court. The same applies to public defenders of self-management law and to courts of associated labor.

Better solutions have to be found in the system of self-management. Resolving the burning problem of unemployment of young people, along with good organization, would increase production and augment the national income. Did you know that the composition of our unemployed with respect to skills is better than that of the employed labor force?

Within the framework of changes in the political system changes also need to be made in the election system and, of course, the citizens need to be afforded the possibility of considerably greater participation in decisionmaking on important public affairs. This certainly would have decisive importance to the affirmation of responsibility as well.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### SWEDISH SECURITY POLICE WORRY YUGOSLAV AGENT MAY BE KILLED

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 6 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Sunne Olofson]

[Text] The man lives in the greatest danger. That is the judgment of security police regarding the Croatian Miljenko Eljuga who resides in Halmstad. Several of his personal friends have been murdered, and his brother died in an unusual train accident in Denmark.

As SVENSKA DAGBLADET reported yesterday, Miljenko Eljuga is on the death list of the Yugoslav secret service SDB, according to the Yugoslav agent Josip Majerski, now under arrest in West Germany.

Majerski has related now he has made murder arrangements and spied on Croatians in exile. He was apparently in Sweden during the years 1974 and 1975 when the Croatian Stipe Mikulic, a good friend of Eljuga, was murdered in Falkenberg.

The security police informs SVENSKA DAGBLADET that Eljuga takes great risks. He was recently visited by two security police commissioners who warned him about the risk of being shot.

"We are concerned because he has played such a prominent role in the struggle for an independent Croatia. It is an indisputable fact that a large number of people who have carried on propaganda work abroad and particularly those who have written against the Yugoslav regime have been assassinated," a security police commissioner informs SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

Eljuga is responsible for the Croatian movement HPD's [Movement for Creation of Croatian State] foreign section in Scandinavia. The headquarters of the HPD is in New York, its European headquarters is in Scotland. Its leader, Nikolaj Stedul, who is Eljuga's political chief, lives there.

### Splintered

In the beginning of the 1960's the Croatian movement HNV was secretly formed in Zagreb. Two of its outstanding brains, Bruno Basic and Franjo Mikulic, were sent to Paris and West Germany to unite the splintered Croatian movement in exile.

"Both were my personal friends, and both are now dead," Miljenko Eljuga says.

In 1978 the ideologist Bruno Basic was murdered in a violent gun fight on a street in Paris. Apparently the SDB was behind the murder.

The murder resulted in the HNV splintering. There was no one left who would have the collective confidence of the Croatians to be leader of the exile movement.

HNV [Croatian National Council] in Zagreb splintered, and instead HDP was formed in 1979. Its leader in Yugoslavia is secret.

"He would be immediately executed or imprisoned, if his identity were revealed," Miljenko Eljuga says.

The next year in 1980 a number of Croatian leaders came with the greatest secrecy to Malmo. Miljenko Eljuga was responsible for the security of the Croatian leaders. He let it leak out that the meeting would take place in a hotel in Lund, while it actually took place in Malmo.

At that time the Scandinavian section of HDP was formed. Eljuga was put in charge and Nikolaj Stedul was elected HDP chief in exile.

#### Death List

In connection with the exposure of the Yugoslav agent Majerski in West Germany, the TV editors of "Report" took up the matter and showed on the TV screen the SDB death list. Eljuga's chief Nikolaj Stedul was on it. The West German police found in the address book of the agent Majerski Mijanko Eljuga's telephone number in Halmstad.

"We Croatians are used to such death lists. Sometimes they are leaked from the SDB and then are part of the psychological war against us," Miljenko Eljuga says.

But he admits that every day he takes steps to protect himself.

"I inspect my car and I try to determine if I am being followed."

Nikolaj Stedul says to SVENSKA GADBLADET: "The best way to protect yourself is to increase your knowledge about the opponents; another way is publicity."

Milenko Eljuga has a business in the computer field. Competitors predict a bright future for him. But almost all his time is devoted to the Croatian struggle, which has had the result that his wife and two teenage daughters are now having difficulties understanding him.

#### Won't Stop

Is it actually worth the price? Perhaps to lose your life?

"To stop would be to lose some of the meaning of life," Eljuga says. "My time, my life exists for Croatia."

And he relates how--when in school in Yugoslavia--he was forbidden to speak Croatian and was forced to write Serbian. And how he got into a fight with Tito's son in the tenth grade in high school in Svesdara in Belgrade. The fight resulted in his being expelled from school. During his military service he was accused of anti-Yugoslav activity and sentenced to 1-1/2 years of imprisonment.

His passport was taken from him, but the son of a general succeeded through contacts in getting the punishment made conditional. He applied for permission to pick up reserve parts for a machine in Sweden and came here on 4 September 1964. He became a Swedish citizen on the 1970's.

"My life has been threatened in different ways in Sweden. But nothing can change my convictions," he says.

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